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INTERIOR OF ANTE-CHAPEL, CASTLE ACRE PRIORY.

GLEANINGS  
AMONG THE  
CASTLES AND CONVENTS  
OF  
NORFOLK.

BY HENRY HARROD, F.S.A.

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AND LATE HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE NORFOLK AND  
NORWICH ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

"I do love these ancient ruins . . . .  
We never tread upon them but we set  
Our foot upon some reverend history."

 Norwich :

PUBLISHED BY SUBSCRIPTION.

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*Gift of  
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## P R E F A C E.

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FROM the year 1845 to the beginning of the present year I held the office of Honorary Secretary to the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, the General Meetings of which were held either in Norwich or some town in the county, from which an excursion could be made to one or other of the most interesting of the Antiquities of the district.

In the arrangement of these meetings I took a somewhat active part; and with the view of making our gatherings as useful as possible, I "gleaned" all the information I could, as well from the buildings and remains themselves, as from all the public and private records to which I was permitted access.

The result was the accumulation of a large mass of notes and a series of careful surveys, made on the spot and usually aided by excavations.

These surveys have been reduced and placed with my gleanings of history in this volume, which I had intended to mark the first stage of my Archæological researches, to be succeeded in after years by more worthy contributions

to the History of the County. But it has been otherwise ordered, and my first volume will, in all probability, be my last.

I cannot hope that my plans are faultless, but I have taken all possible pains to verify them, feeling conscious that their chief value must be in their fidelity; and to ensure accuracy to the best of my power, the colouring of the Monastic Plans has been chiefly done either by my own hand or under my own eye.

I must most gratefully acknowledge the ready assistance afforded me on almost every hand. More particularly am I indebted to the Committee of the Archæological Institute for the loan of the Walsingham woodcuts, and that of St. Ethelbert's Gate, Norwich; to the Committee of the Norfolk Society for most of those of Thetford; and to Mr. Enfield, of Norwich, for the plate of the Prior of Walsingham's door.

In one particular I have failed in my promise to my Subscribers, for which I must apologise: I had proposed to include a Plan and Notes on Yarmouth Priory in this volume, but, unfortunately, my measurements and notes have been mislaid and are now nowhere to be found.

As I am now bringing my active connection with Archæology to a conclusion, I may be pardoned for recurring to one subject on which I have felt very strongly, and which I should rejoice to see taken up with more spirit and determination by Antiquaries than it has hitherto been. I allude to what is usually called Restoration—particularly *Church Restoration*. I say it is *so called*, because it generally is no such thing—it is *Destruction*.

When we are engaged in preparing such extensive and admirable repositories for our written records, it is most strange that the public feeling is so supine about our ancient monuments.

The public is fully alive to the importance of preserving our ancient manuscripts intact: the value of an original over a facsimile, be the latter ever so good, is at once seen and appreciated; but our more material records in wood and stone are suffered to be destroyed and replaced by at best poor imitations of ancient art, not only without censure, but in many cases with approbation. Meanwhile the evil goes on increasing, and in the course of another half century, unless public opinion can be brought to bear upon the matter, there will scarcely be any ancient buildings left in the land.

In dealing with an increasing evil like this, nothing is to be done except by earnest, steady, uncompromising energy; any other course only serves to produce irritation, without any compensating results. I had hoped, with many others, that the Society of Antiquaries was about to rouse itself and to deal energetically with the giant evil. But, alas! the Council having delivered itself in the year 1855 of a strong Resolution, has apparently ceased to trouble itself with the difficult task.

This Resolution, I submit, with all due deference, ought to have been followed up by strong representations in every quarter where the matter could have been dealt with, and some feasible plan suggested for a supervision and conservation of our ancient monuments; and I still hope, although much valuable time has been lost, that the Council will yet

bestir itself on a subject of such national importance. For our Churches are not only records of the History of English Architecture, but also of the History of the Church itself; and I would myself deal as gently with works of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods as with the works of earlier times, except where they are undoubted obstructions to Public Worship.

In one of our Norfolk churches, a few years ago, the chancel remained as arranged during the period of the Commonwealth: the table was in the centre, and seats round it. I believe there is scarcely another example in the kingdom. This arrangement offered no obstruction to the decent performance of our present ceremonies; and I confess I cannot enter into the feelings of those who could view it as offensive, and would insist on the table being placed close to the east wall and the rest of the chancel re-arranged.

Before I close my observations on this subject, an instance or two may be named of the proceedings of Restorers.

A large and fine church in the county has an able and energetic minister. It was cumbered from end to end with ugly pews. A large sum of money was raised, the pews were removed and their place supplied by oaken benches. Now if there be one feature of the arrangements of our Norfolk churches which may be called a prevailing characteristic, it is in the use of the poppy-head benching. I know none, where the slightest remains of early benching have been left, where it was otherwise. This church has now benching, of a pattern common, I am told, in Somersetshire, although large remains of the bench ends among the pews shewed it to have been arranged originally after the Norfolk



fashion. And this is called Restoration, and was done under the supervision of an eminent architect!

I will name another instance which came under my notice of a projected Restoration. It is of a small, but beautiful, country church, to which much has been judiciously done of late years, the fabric being sound in every part, and calculated, with occasional repairs, to last for centuries; and there is ample accommodation for any congregation likely to be gathered there. But the incumbent has become an "Ecclesiologist," and now proposes to destroy a screen dividing the church from the chancel, having figures of saints painted on the panels, and to erect in lieu thereof a fine, open iron-work screen, nearly filling the arch. An arch is to be made in the north wall of the chancel, and a vestry—I beg pardon, a "Sacristy"—built. Within the arch an organ is to be placed. Chancel seats, of approved mediæval design, are to be constructed, from one of which the incumbent is to read or intone the service, the reading-desk—sad relic of Puritanism!—being already done away with; an ancient and curious family pew is also doomed to destruction. The east window is to be renovated and filled with stained glass; and silken hangings are to adorn the walls around the altar! And this is Restoration! Restoration to what?

It should be stated, too, that in the instances I have named, and in a vast number of others, there is no pretence that the space is inadequate for the wants of the congregation: the plea advanced is simply that of a desire to *restore*.

That a feasible plan of church conservation might be adopted, I have no doubt. Meanwhile, much might be done if appointments to Deaneries and Archdeaconries were made

with some reference to the fitness of the persons appointed to undertake one of the most important duties of those offices. Among the present holders of such offices, and I say it with all possible respect, a knowledge of architecture and a reverence for ancient art is the exception, and not the rule.

It has been thought that much might be done by the Archæological Societies. My experience has convinced me that it is not so. The manner in which, during my official career, the most respectful representations, the mildest observations, in opposition to the views of the Restorers were received, would, I feel sure, if made public, amply confirm me in that assertion.

I have now done with this subject, and remit it to the consideration of those who have the power and the desire to deal with it as its importance deserves. May a large measure of success crown their efforts!

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## PRELIMINARY NOTE.

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The Plans of Monastic Buildings have all been made to one uniform scale, and the different styles of the various parts of them indicated by the like colours in each.

Thus in all—

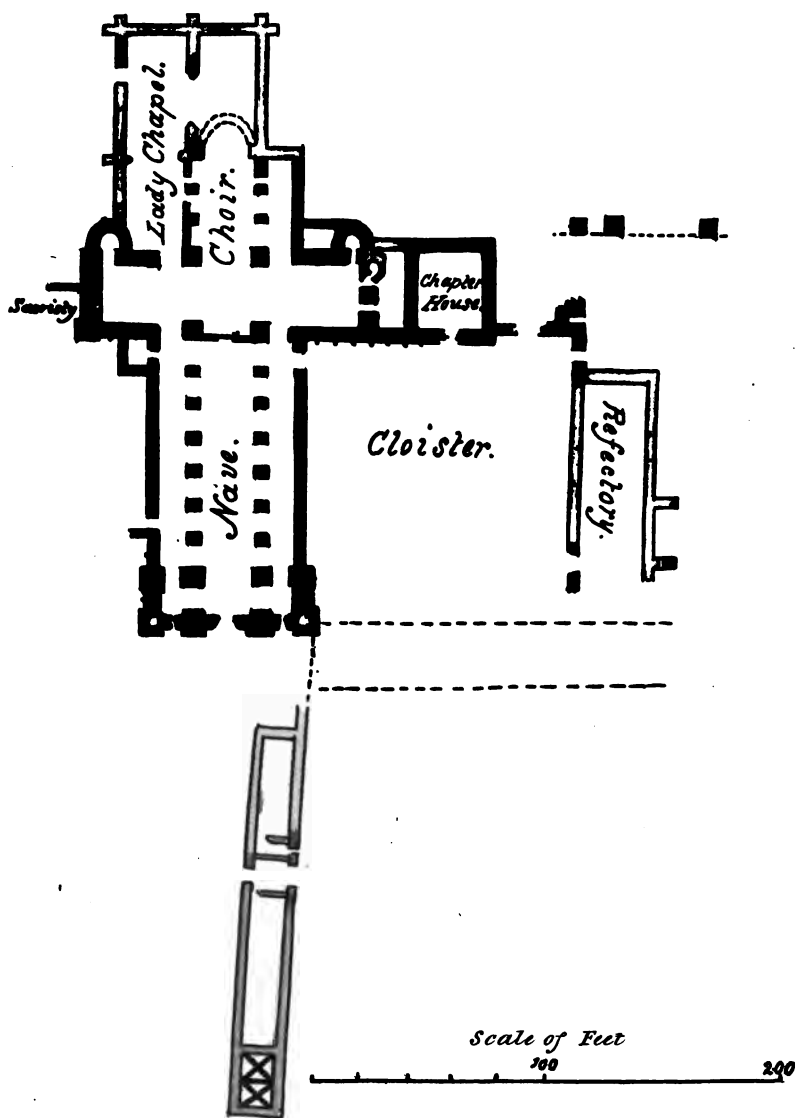
NORMAN	is	Black
EARLY ENGLISH	„	Blue
DECORATED	„	Green
PERPENDICULAR	„	Red ;

and where, as in one or two instances, I have been obliged to complete my plans from former surveys, the additions so made are indicated by a brown colour.

The Monastic Buildings are all laid down to one scale, the Castles and Earthworks to another, the latter being much the smaller. No advantage seemed likely to accrue from having them uniform ; but the size of the Monasteries can be readily compared, and the relative proportions of the Castles seen at a glance.







# THETFORD PRIORY.

1849.

- Norman.
- = Early English.
- Perpendicular.



## Thetford Priory.

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THE plan on the opposite page is reduced from an accurate survey of the remains of the Benedictine Priory of Thetford, after extensive excavations made in 1849.

The materials for a History of this Priory are not very extensive, but sufficient information may be gathered from various sources to enable

us to judge of its original extent, and to fix the period of most of the subsequent alterations and additions to the buildings.

A fragment of a History of the Priory, by Geoffrey de Rocherio, Prior from 1355 to 1370, is very full and particular about the foundation of it, and is amply confirmed by other documents of early date.

He relates, and the foundation deed confirms him, that Roger Bigod was the founder; and that twelve Cluniac

monks, with Malgod the Prior, were first placed in the church of Saint Mary the Great, which church had been, during the arrangements for the removal of the see to Norwich, the Cathedral Church of the Diocese. They arrived, says Geoffrey, on the 4th of July, 1104,\* amidst great rejoicing, and for three succeeding years laboured hard at the buildings of the monastery adjacent to that church. At that period Malgod was recalled, and Stephen, who is much extolled by Geoffrey, was sent from Lewes to replace him. He no sooner reached Thetford than, disapproving the site, he stirred up the founder and the king (who was then at Thetford), and it was agreed to remove the establishment forthwith to a more open space on the Norfolk side of the river, to the site on which it now stands. The founder died in 1107; and as he had directed his body to be buried in this monastery, the prior was much perplexed on finding the bishop had possession of it, and had determined to bury it at Norwich; he made strong efforts to carry out the direction of the founder, but to no purpose, for the bishop insisted that he had directed to be interred at Norwich, he, his wife, children, and barons, before the monks came to Thetford; and to the bishop's determination the Prior of Thetford was obliged to submit.

Geoffrey's narrative terminates in the midst of his relation of the dispute about the body, and it is from Bartholomew Cotton that we learn the bishop succeeded in his design and retained the founder's body. There was no great and disinterested affection for the deceased noble on the part of either bishop or prior: it is to be feared the lucre of gain was the great moving cause of the anxiety evinced to possess the

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\* Blomefield adds in a note (8vo. edition, Vol. II. p. 102) "Most writers say 1103," but in Brame's "Chronology of Memorable Events to the year 1399," in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is the following entry: "Anno gr'e M. C. & I. Constructio Mo'sterii S'te Marie de Thetford." Brame was a monk of this house.

body. Herbert was anxious to secure so valuable a source of revenue as the celebration of masses, the offerings, and commemorations of so great and wealthy a man, would assuredly bring to his own foundation at Norwich, and the prior had similar designs for Thetford.

On Saint Martin's day, 1114, the monks removed to their new monastery, and it must about this time have been consecrated. The following characteristic letter from the bishop relates to it.

*Herbert to the Brethren at Thetford.*

Assuredly, Sirs, I would willingly consecrate the court of your new church; but, my friends, that may not be done without the knowledge and permission of the king, lest perchance, after the completion of the consecration of the new cloister, some dispute should arise between us with regard to the dues of the cloister of the old church. For if the king were to hear of any commotion, however trifling, occurring between us through any rash step on my part, he would have good grounds for feeling angry at my disturbing, by my imprudent precipitation, the order which he himself had appointed. I beg you, therefore, wait until I shall have spoken with the king or his justices, since I cannot without this venture upon the consecration which you require, unless, the privileges being transferred to the new church, you absolutely and *without ambiguity of words* restore us our ancient episcopal rights; then without fear or hesitation I will obey you.\*

Whether his hesitation was got over by plain speaking, or by communication with the king or his justices, does not appear, but we have another letter fixing the day.

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\* *Epistolæ de Herberti de Losinga*: Brussels, 1846. *Epist.* II. p. 5.

*Herbert to Stephen the Prior.*

Certain business matters compel me to hasten the consecration of your cloister, for I fear if I should again defer it you might impute it to *inclination* rather than necessity. On Sunday, therefore, according to your desire, both your chapel and cloister shall be consecrated. Cause this to be generally made known in your vicinity during the four days preceding.\*

We learn no more of Prior Stephen further than that he fulfilled the promise of his earlier days and ruled his monastery with vigour and judgment: he is said to have died about 1130, and to have been succeeded by a prior named Constantine. No regular list of the succeeding priors exists; that given by the editors of the new edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon* seems to be carefully compiled, and is inserted at the end of this paper. It will be seen that a prior named Stephen occurs in 1240, and again in 1257. If a tale told by Mathew Paris be true, there must have been two of this name successively, for under the year 1248 he tells a sad story of the state of discipline here.

“ In the month of December in this year (1248) the Prior of Thetford, a Savoyard by birth and a monk of Clugny, who declared himself to be a relation or kinsman of the queen, and had assumed airs of pride from that circumstance, invited his brothers, Bernard, a knight, and Guiscard, a clerk, to come to his house at Thetford. There he remained, according to custom, the whole night till cock-crow, indulging in immoderate eating and drinking with them, and, forgetting his matin devotions, seldom did he trouble himself to be present at mass, even at the little masses; seldom did he appear at canonical hours. If the cry of the hungry poor sounded in his ears, this was a minor care in his breast; and

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\* *Epistolæ de Herberti de Losinga. Epist. VII.*

whenever Bernard, one of his said brothers, went away, Guiscard, the other, stayed longer with him and swallowed up all the food of the monks in the Charybdis of his belly, and afterwards, when well gorged, despised and loaded them with insults. Whilst the said prior, then, was thus entertaining his brothers, who had borne the toil and heat of the day, in a manner unbecoming to him, and was disgracefully wasting the substance of his little church, transgressing as was stated the bounds of all moderation in his gluttony, a dispute and strife arose between him and one of his monks, a Welshman by birth. This monk, whom he, the prior, had some little time before summoned from Clugny, he was now endeavouring to send back thither against his will, not out of charity, but from hatred, although the said monk opposed the proceeding and excused himself on reasonable grounds. But when the prior, with a loud voice, swore horribly that the said monk should proceed on a pilgrimage with the scrip and wallet, this demoniac monk, inflamed with violent anger, or rather with madness, drew a knife and plunged it into the prior's belly, without the least hesitation at perpetrating such a crime within the precincts of the church. The wounded prior, with the very death-rattle in his throat, endeavoured to call the monks to his aid by his cries, or at any rate to arouse them, but he was unable to do so, owing to the stoppage of the arteries, whereon the said monk again rushed upon him, and with heavy blows, three or four times repeated, buried the knife up to the handle in his lifeless body. The author of this crime was seized by persons who came to the spot, and, being well secured, was committed to prison. When the circumstance came to the knowledge of the king, worried by the continual complaints of the queen, he ordered the murderer to be chained, and, after being deprived of his eyes, to be thrown into the lowest dungeon in the castle of Norwich. These occurrences having been mentioned by an enemy of the monks as an opprobrium to religious men, a

certain person, a friend to them and a lover and special advocate of religion, said in reply, 'Amongst the angels the Lord found a rebel; amongst the seven deacons a deviator from the right path; and amongst the apostles a traitor; God forbid that the sin of one or of a few should redound to the disgrace of such a numerous community.' "

This shows, if true, that the convent had fallen into a bad state. Still, however, the Bigods remained stanch friends, and many of the family were buried there.

About the middle of the thirteenth century an improvement took place in the position and prospects of the monastery, brought about either by miraculous interposition or by the grossest imposture, acting upon the most degrading credulity and superstition.

A Thetford mechanic, in an incurable state of disease, dreamt three times successively that the Blessed Virgin appeared to him and admonished him, if he desired to obtain his health, to tell the prior to build a chapel to the honor of her name on the north side of the church, near that which had been lately repaired. When the prior had heard the wonderful circumstance he was filled with astonishment, and, possibly, because the revelation had not been made in a direct manner to himself, he endeavoured to compromise matters by building a timber chapel. The man persisted in his visits to the monastery, as the Virgin would have stone and cement and no timber. Whether he would have been successful or not, is not very certain; but on one of these occasions, the prior being absent, he fell in with an ancient monk and treated him with a vision of a glorious cross upon a stone, where the principal column was to be placed. Still the prior delayed; other equally convincing revelations followed, and he set about the work in earnest. And then a new marvel appeared. There had been a wooden image of the Virgin in the old church, prior to the removal of the see, which the monks had brought with them to their new church, but in

course of time this was removed to make way for one of greater beauty, and thrust into an obscure corner. The prior, who seems to have been an economist, bethought him of this old image for the new chapel, and it was put into the painter's hands to be new painted and ornamented. The decayed paint being taken off the head, a silver plate was found, beneath which, being removed, the reliques of many saints appeared, wrapped in lead, with their names engraved thereon, and well it was so. For who would else have recognized relics of the purple robe of our Lord, of the Virgin's girdle, of the Lord's sepulchre, of the rock of Calvary, of the sepulchre of Saint Mary, of the Lord's manger, of the earth found in the sepulchre of Saint John the Evangelist, of Saint George, of the hair of Saint Agnes, of the wooden coffin of Saint Edmund, and also of Saint Etheldeda? These particulars, Brame states, were contained in a letter addressed to Stephen the Prior, by William, minister of the church at Merlesham, who sent these relics at the request of Hugh Bigot and the devout application of a monk named Ralph.

There were many other relics of saints beside those named, whose names and merits, says Brame, "God knows, but we, *out of regard for truth*, should not presume to mention.\*

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\* Brame's manuscripts form a small volume in the library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. By far the greater portion of it is taken up with the history styled by Nasmith (in his Catalogue of the manuscripts in that library) "*porro fabulosa in qua tempore Britonum frequens Normanniæ et Saracenorum mentio*"—the History of one "Waldeus, King of Norfolk and Suffolk." This is divided into six parts, and these parts into many chapters, and relates his adventures in England and Spain and divers countries. King Waldeus and his adventures may be fabulous: Brame states he translated them out of French and English into Latin; and it does appear as if several distinct histories had been woven into one. Still it is worthy of a more careful examination than it has hitherto received; a good deal of truth may be extracted from the mass of fable. For instance, many places are named as places of strength and importance shortly after the departure of the Romans from Britain, which have for ages ceased to be so, although with regard to some a great deal of corroborative evidence

Forthwith miracles began. A Thetford woman overlaid her child; it was laid before the image, and the mother wept and scourged herself. When her prayers had ceased, the child revived, and *seemed likely* to live! Another woman, to the joy possibly of her neighbours, lost the use of her tongue; the Woolpit Virgin was recommended, and money given her to offer there. The Thetford image was preferred, and a cure effected.

The third and last, and, as Brame affirms, the most remarkable one, was in the case of a child three years old, of Wm. Heddrick, jun., carpenter, and Isabell his wife, who lived at

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exists, whilst in others a floating shadow of a tradition alone remains. The tale opens with a statement as to the building of Castor by the Romans, and how, after they abandoned Britain, the Britons began quarrelling and fighting with each other, and how, ultimately, his hero, Waldeus, established himself as King of Norfolk and Suffolk. He then speaks of the building of the "City" of Attleburgh, which town, there is little doubt, did rise into importance then or shortly after. Narburgh is a strong place, where he gathers his host together to fight a Count Okenard. At Browncaster (Bran-caster) he disposes of one Urry. Martin extracts (*History of Thetford: Appendix*, p. 128) the whole twenty-eighth chapter of the second part, which relates the fight between Thetford and Roudham; certain kings, Roud, Knoud, and others, being the antagonists of Waldeus. It is described in a spirited manner. In this battle Roud and Knoud are slain. The battle field is pointed out as about three miles from Thetford, not far from a certain marsh. The kings are buried there, and on this account the people of the province afterwards built a chapel on the spot; and because one of them was Roud, some time king of Thetford, they called the next town Roudham. This locality abounds in Roman-British remains. As a matter almost of course, in a tale of this period, Merlin is introduced; Uther Pendragon too. The relation of a reconciliation between Waldeus and "Sweyn," which occurs shortly after, certainly seems "porro fabulosa." Elvedon is the site of another battle. In the fourth part Waldeus goes, during a siege at Thetford, to the church of Saint Martin, and thence to his palace. Saint Martin's was one of the oldest churches in Thetford, if not the very oldest, was on the Suffolk side of the river, and had ceased to exist in Brame's time.

Of the remainder of the volume, Martin has printed all but the "Chronologia rerum memorabilium ab incarnatione verbi ad annum 1399," which contains nothing of local interest.



Hockham. This child was run over by a cart and killed outright. Notwithstanding this confident assertion, however, some seem to have doubted, and the opinion of an eminent medical man of Hockham was requested. He observed no symptom of life. They therefore prepared for the funeral, praying and watching, and at length vowing to the Holy Mother of God, that if by her intercession the child should be restored, father and mother would go on a pilgrimage to the image of the Virgin at Thetford, and make the usual offering, but with a very unusual and indecorous casting off of garments. Strange to say, the child revived at midnight, and, stranger still, they were permitted to perform the obligation they had laid themselves under.

These are all the cases Brame could collect and record at the close of the fifteenth century. However, the popular enthusiasm was raised, and advantage was fully taken of it. The chapel of the Virgin on the north side of the choir was then built, the choir itself extended forty feet, the refectory rebuilt on a larger scale, and other additions made to the buildings, and five monks were added to the establishment.

In 1375 the then prior had sufficient influence with the king to get the Priory made denizen, and thus freed from its allegiance to Clugny.

The Bigods having run their course, were succeeded by the Mowbrays in the patronage of the Priory, several of whom, during the fifteenth century, were buried here; and from them it came to the Howards, many of which noble family sleep their last sleep within these hallowed walls. The last connection of this great family buried here (Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Somerset, 1536) can scarcely have been placed in his tomb before the note of preparation was sounded for the destruction of these magnificent edifices.

In 1538 Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, addressed the following letter to Matthew Parker, then Master of the College of Stoke Clare.

"In my right herty maner I comend me unto you. And wher the King's highnes is content that the monasterie of Thetford, beyng of my fundation, wher my lord my father and other myne ancestours doth lie, and wher also I myself, God willing, do semblable entend the like, shalbe made a Colleage of Secular Prests. And forasmoch as I pceyve your Colleage is founded of an honest sorte, as I woold right gladly have this house to be, I have therfore thought conveniēt by these to require and hertely pray you to send unto me, uppon the sight hereof, yo<sup>r</sup> originall fundation, or els the veray trewe copie of it, wich shall remayne w<sup>th</sup> me no longer but so long as one w<sup>th</sup> diligence may write it, or else take owt such notes of it as shall s<sup>ve</sup> for my purpose in that behauf. And so shall ye have it again redelyv<sup>d</sup> unto you with my most herty thanks. Thus fare ye hertely well. Written at Den-shon, this Monday the xix. of August.

"Y<sup>r</sup> loving friend,  
T. NORFOLK."

*Addressed :*

"To my wellbeloved frende, the M<sup>r</sup> of the Colleage of Stoke Clare, and in his absens, to his deputie and deputies theire, or to one of them."\*

Although the king at first lent a favourable ear to the proposition, he did not long continue in a compliant humour; he considered it would be a dangerous precedent if he permitted the duke to carry out his intention, and the priory, therefore, shared the fate of the other monasteries. On the 16th of February, 31st Henry VIII., the Surrender Deed

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\* From the original in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; to the Master and Fellows of which College my thanks are due, for permitting me to transcribe this letter, and to inspect Brame's and other manuscripts relating to Thetford, in their possession.

(which now remains in the Record Office at Carlton Ride) was executed by the prior and twelve monks, and the site and possessions were given to the duke, who removed the bones and tombs of some of his family from Thetford to Framlingham, and the building was then abandoned to ruin and decay.

From this time our records of its fate are very scanty. Mr. Bidwell, of Thetford, has favoured me with the loan of a small etching, by Hollar, of the ruins as they existed in

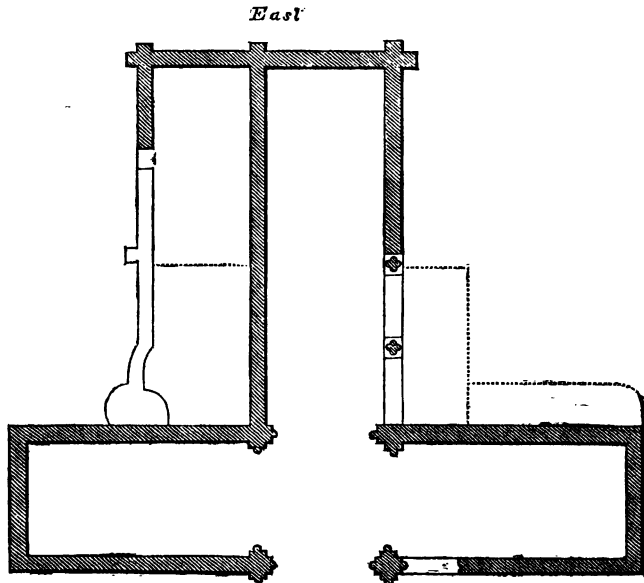


his time. This print, of which I insert a facsimile, was probably executed by him between 1650 and 1670. The spectator stands a little north of the spot marked as the Sacristy in my plan; and it will be seen that at that time the north wall of the Chapel of the Virgin, with lancet windows below and round windows in the clerestory, was nearly entire; beyond may be seen the walls of the choir, also but little dilapidated. Portions of the great central tower are shown, with part of the south transept beyond. Three arches of the south aisle of the nave are also standing, but the fragments westward are, unfortunately, too indistinct to be identified.

Between Hollar's time and our next date (Blomefield, 1738-9, and Buck's view, 1738) many further portions of the building had fallen, or been pulled down. Blomefield says the ruins had been "much lessened within a few years

for the stones' sake." Even in his time part of the stone roof of the choir existed. Buck's view is from the south-east, and shows, in addition to the fragments now in existence, part of the east end of the choir and Lady Chapel, a part of the north wall of the latter, a large piece of the south side of the central tower, rising to a greater height (if Buck's perspective be correct) than the fragment of the arch of the presbytery, still standing; a part, too, of the south aisle of the choir is seen, all of which aisle, with the exception of the south-east corner, has long since disappeared.

Martin's *History* (1779) has a plan, of which the one beneath is a copy. The view in that work is from the same point as Buck's, and has little beyond what at present remains, with the exception of the east end of the Lady Chapel, and this was existing in 1789; for Gough, in his *Additions to Camden's Britannia* (Vol. II., p. 103) says, "The Abbey Gate and some remains of the east end of the church are still



MARTIN'S PLAN, 1779.

extant; but the ruins of this last building are every day hastening towards a total dissolution by the destroying hands of rapacious tenants."

It will thus be seen that no violent and immediate destruction fell upon this structure; but that from time to time the walls gave way when the lower portions of them had been pared of their freestone casing, to supply the wants of "rapacious tenants." Many fragments may be discerned adorning the houses in the vicinity: a huge *gurgoyle*, with a large hole for the spout turned upwards, a trap for the feet of the unwary, forms the step of a door in one of the adjoining streets; and the materials of the walls of the houses were no doubt also obtained from the same source.

Within memory there still remained a large pit in the centre of the cloister, dug by some of these tenants of the farm, to make an easier access to which the south wall of the nave was nearly destroyed.

The fallen walls of the church formed an extensive mound. Rising about six feet above the floor of the chancel, it increased to thirteen on the site of the central tower, between the transepts, and across the Chapel of the Virgin; gradually falling off from the central tower, it was cut across in the last century near the western end for a roadway to the pit, then rose again to a height of thirteen feet, and the wall of the garden of the farm, built of the old materials, formed the western termination of the mound.

The large field in which these remains exist is now called the "Ruin Field," on the eastern side of which are small indications of an early building, marked in Burrell's plan (1807) as a chapel, and may have been the Almonry Chapel.

The principal entrance is on the north side, some distance to the north-west of the church, too distant to be shown on my plan. This gate, which is all of the Perpendicular period, is a conspicuous object from the railway, and a view of the south or inner front will be seen at the head of this paper.

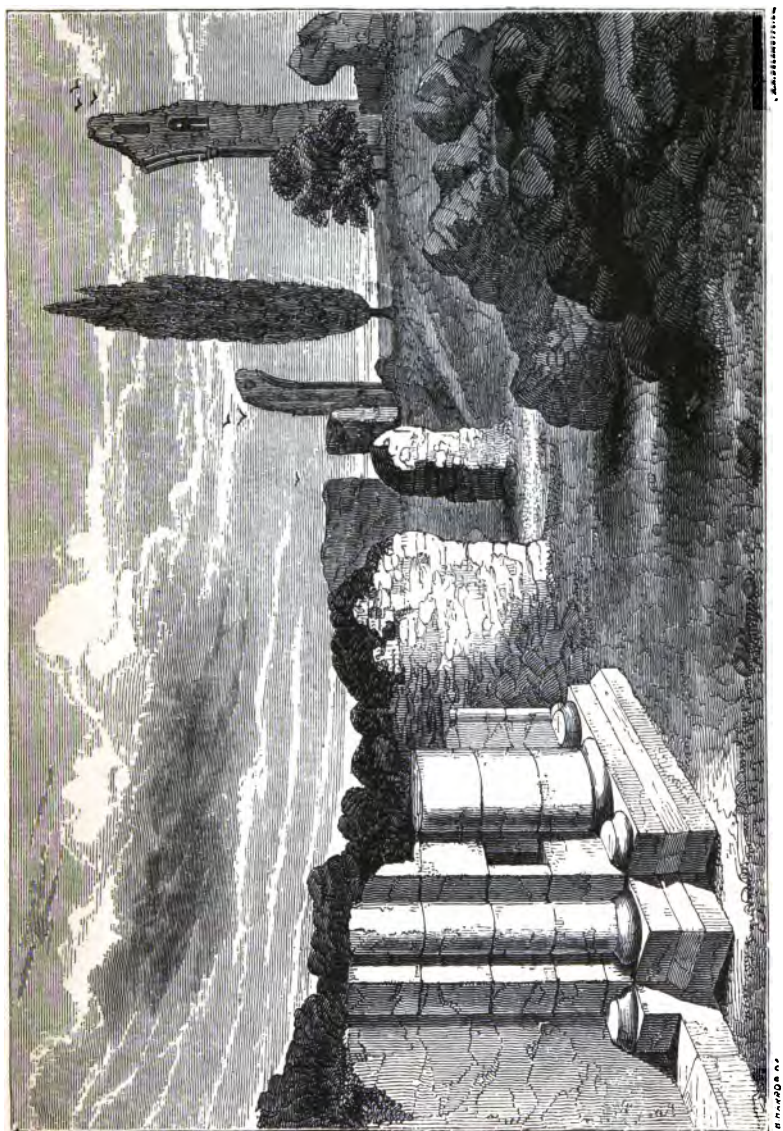
An archway through the long line of buildings west of the church, shown in my plan, is exactly opposite to it.

In the year 1849, shortly prior to a meeting of the Norfolk Archæological Society at Thetford, I went to make an examination of these ruins. The only existing plan of the structure was that in Martin's "History," which was extremely imperfect, as will be seen by the copy of it inserted at p. 12.

Nothing further was to be ascertained without excavation, and that, aided by a liberal subscription in the town and neighbourhood, I was able to accomplish sufficiently to construct a large plan, of which that at the head of this paper is a reduced copy. In many places my excavations were so extensive as to allow of those portions to remain uncovered; and when I again visited them in 1854, I was able to examine all the principal points I desired to verify.

Commencing on the west side of the Ruin Field, I will endeavour to describe my operations by the aid of the plan. At a point about two hundred feet due west of the conspicuous southern pier of the presbytery arch, the mound I have before spoken of terminates abruptly at the garden wall. Some huge masses of fallen wall lying bare at this point appeared to indicate the site of some important part of the structure. The excavations confirmed this idea. Here was the great western entrance of the church, through a deeply recessed Norman arch: the bases of four shafts remain on the north side of the recess. On either side once arose a massive tower, as at Castleacre, each having a small western doorway.

In the accompanying plates, two of the internal piers of the northern tower are depicted. The view in the first plate is from the interior of the site of this tower, looking east; and the different parts of the edifice seen from this point may be easily identified on reference to the plan. Thus, the wall to the left, with the tower pier against it,



VIEW FROM INTERIOR OF NORTH-WEST TOWER, LOOKING EAST, THETFORD PRIORY CHURCH. NOV. 1849.





is all that is left of the north wall of the nave, through the first opening in which, where formerly was the north porch, runs the roadway above mentioned, which now leads through the cloister (the pit having been filled up) and away over the south-east corner of it towards the town. On the hill beyond, and to the left of the view, are the walls of the apsidal chapel in the north transept (distinguished by √). Still further distant, a little to the right, a tall fragment (marked √ √) is the north-east angle of the Chapel of the Virgin. The poplar stands on the wall, between the choir and chapel; and the lofty piece of wall, with a part of an arch to the right (with √√) is the south side of the presbytery arch. The whole of the hill seen in this view is formed of the *debris* of the church.

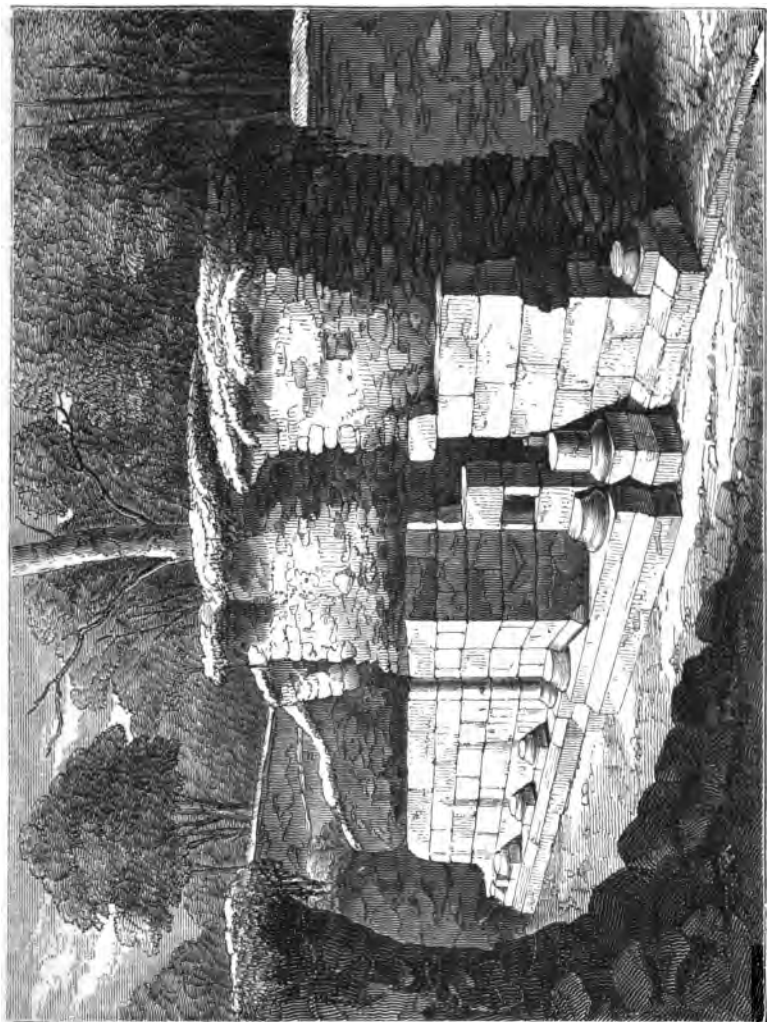
The second plate is a view of the interior of the west end, from about the same spot as the other view, but looking in a nearly opposite direction. The most prominent object is one of the internal piers of the tower, with its singular angular face; to the left are the bases of an arcade along the wall to the great west doorway. The excavations here were full twelve feet deep, and attended with great difficulty, from the size and consistence of the masses of wall which had fallen into the interior. A few of the black and red tiles of the floor were found; they were quite plain, and about six inches square. The walls were of rubble, faced with freestone; and the bases of the shafts of an arcade remain, nearly perfect, both within and without.

Proceeding up the site of the nave, from which an immense quantity of building materials have been removed, excavations were made sufficient to ascertain the position of the columns and outer walls, until the top of the hill was reached, at a distance of 121 feet from the west wall. Here a deep trench disclosed the site of the rood screen, all that remained of it being a piece of plastered wall, and part of the bases of the door into the choir, between which was a step deeply worn

by the feet of the votaries. Extending this trench southward, the wall of the eastern ambulatory of the cloister was uncovered, with the bases and shafts against it, which supported the roof. Here a great number of pieces of worked freestone, bases, shafts, capitals, and mouldings from various parts of the church were buried up. One of the shafts was of an elegant twisted pattern, and seemed to have belonged to the interior arcade of the clerestory of the church. To the right, the wall of the south transept stands erect; about half way up will be observed the indentations caused by the insertion of the roof of the east ambulatory of the cloister. The surface of the wall, where preserved by the accumulation of soil against it, was plastered and white-washed. On the extreme left is the wall of the north transept, still retaining its freestone facing, with the bases of an arcade similar to that at the western end of the church.

Jutting out from the north wall of the nave, the wall of the transept forming its eastern side, is a small chapel, about twelve feet square. A stone step to the altar, a small niche at the back, and the bases of some of the ornamental work about it, of the Perpendicular period, remain. The east wall was painted red, and, mixed with the rubbish, were many crushed and mutilated pieces of Perpendicular screen-work in a soft stone, still retaining the painting and gilding upon them; the gilding especially was marvellously bright. A canopy for a niche, of elegant design, was nearly perfect. Part of the fan tracery of the roof was also found.

In Martin's *History*, p. 162, is "a breffe declaration of the armes that have been in the late abbey of Thetford," the first paragraph of which appears to refer to this chapel: "Imprimis at the first aulter, standing at the upper end of the body of the church, on the left side of the same, that is in a scouchin by itself, Brotherton's armes, with five labells; and on the right side of the said alter is ther, in a scouchin by itself, the armes of England and France quartered, together with a



INTERIOR, WEST END, THETFORD PRIORY CHURCH. NOV. 1849.



silver labell of iij points powderd ; and faste by the same, in a nother scouchin, Saint Edward's father, that is to say, a cross flowry with iiij martletts. . . . Item, entering into the queare," &c.

No arms are now to be seen ; but if, as I believe, the above extract refers to the altar in this chapel, it is probable that it was a chantry chapel for some of the Norfolk family.

The pavement tiles immediately before the screen are of a smaller size than those towards the west, and of similar patterns to those of Castleacre.

Entering the site of the choir, four deep excavations disclosed the pillars which supported the great central tower. Several feet of the lower part of the stone casing of the two eastern pillars remained extremely perfect and sharp, and exceedingly resembled those of Norwich cathedral.\*

From this central tower the transepts ran north and south, having small apsidal chapels in the east wall at each extremity.

Outside the north wall of the transept I found the east wall of a building, roughly built, with pieces of Norman mouldings and other carved stone worked up in it. There had clearly been a door from the transept into a building here ; but the other walls were down, and could not be traced without much and unnecessary expense.

In Martin's *Appendix*, p. 142, is "An Agreement between the Prior, &c., and the Master of Benet College, Cambridge," dated 26th November, 13th Henry VIII., whereby, for certain considerations, the prior and convent granted to Peter Nobbys, the Master aforesaid, "an honest lofte chamber for

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\* I presume the stall-work of the choir, running from the screen eastward and closing up the lower part of the pillars and arches on either side for some distance, and therefore covering up these bases, will account for the great freshness they exhibit. The entrance into the transepts was from the side aisles of the nave.

his bedde chambyr, with another lofte chambyr callid a stodie chamber, *in oon howse namyd the Sacrystye, being next adjoynaunte to the north cross ile* of the church of the same priorye, whereof oon of the same chambers is at this time not soleryd," &c.

This building was, therefore, "oon howse namyd the Sacrystye." The same Peter had also liberty to walk in the garden "adjoynaunte" to the said chamber and to have a sufficient room to keep his wood in the said garden.

The entrance to the Lady Chapel will probably be found in the arch to the south of the Apsidal Chapel of the north transept; but this, time did not permit me to investigate.

At the south end of the transept, the mass of rubbish to be removed was very great; in one place, twelve feet of it had to be taken out before reaching the floor, and in the south wall two openings presented themselves: one of these led into a long narrow room, most probably a vestiary; the other into a passage opening to a wide newell staircase, leading to a room above the vestiary,—I presume, the scriptorium. Up these stairs, many of which remain, that erudite, but credulous monk, Brame, may have many a time toiled, to record the marvels wrought at his favourite shrine.

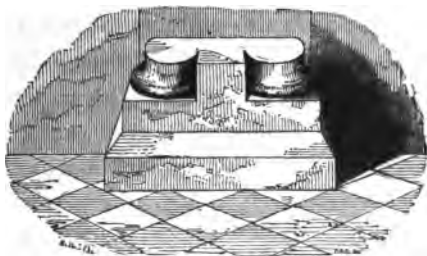
Some recesses in the west wall of the transept are curious, and bear traces of having been fitted up with wood-work. They may have been ambries: similar recesses exist at Castle-acre.

Returning to the centre of the choir, three arches on each side led up to the great Presbytery arch, the south pier of which now stands to a height of nearly sixty feet.

There was originally a north and south aisle to the choir; but the aisle on the north had been destroyed when the chapel of the Virgin was constructed, and the arches between it and the centre aisle built up.

Of the bases on the inner face of the pillars in the choir, the annexed wood-cut gives a specimen. The pavement tiles

of the floor were very perfect wherever I uncovered them, and of like pattern to those outside the choir door.



In the last arch of the choir, on the right, was a tomb (the brick core of which, only, now exists) identified by Martin as that of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1475. The gentleman who supplied Martin with the "breffe declaration of the armes" had mistaken it for the tomb of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, killed at Bosworth, Shakspeare's "Jockey of Norfolk"—

"Jockey of Norfolk, be not too bold,  
For Dickon, thy master, is bought and sold."

May not the beautiful little chapel in the nave have been built for him?

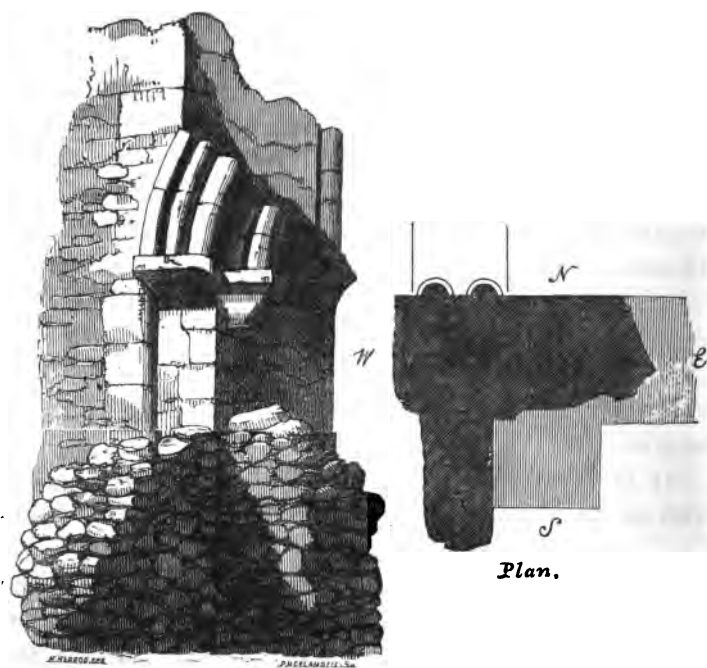
At the presbytery arch, the choir originally terminated with an apse. I made no excavation with the view of confirming my conjecture upon this point, as, in addition to the heavy expense it would have entailed, I had an objection to disturbing the relics of the dead, unless absolutely necessary. But here the existing remains above ground assisted me, and reduced my conjecture to positive certainty.

When the extension eastward was made, a large pier or buttress was built on the outside of the new south wall to assist in supporting it, both being built up against the south pier of the presbytery arch.

The wall had fallen, carrying the buttress with it, and disclosing a portion of one of the original triforium windows,

*inclining inwards*, as shown below, and proving beyond the possibility of a doubt the original apsidal termination of the choir. The original choir was about 93 feet in length to the centre of the apse: after this alteration it was 127 feet.

This addition to the choir was connected by a large arch with the chapel of the Virgin; the bases were uncovered and found perfect. Under this arch were some of the tombs of the Norfolk family. About midway between the



bases I found a piece of stone in the floor, apparently intended to support a railing round a tomb. Some pieces of alabaster, sculptured, painted, and gilt, of late date, were mixed with the rubbish at this spot. John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, was buried here in 1461.

Of the chapel of the Virgin the remains are extremely



small. The north-east angle and part of the east wall, with the capitals and part of the moulding of the east window, are all the walls now standing above the soil.

The size and weight of the pieces of wall from the choir and central tower (which had fallen in a north-easterly direction) had utterly demolished any architectural features which might have otherwise remained in the interior.

On the north side of the wall, on endeavouring to clear the base of a pier on the south side of the chapel, I accidentally met with the only interment I have disturbed during these investigations. A skeleton of a short middle-aged man lay in a stone coffin gradually narrowing to the feet, and having the stone at the upper end hollowed out to receive the head. It was placed immediately beneath the floor, the only covering over him having been a large slab of Purbeck marble. The falling of the choir wall had, however, smashed the marble almost to powder, broken the coffin in the middle, and nearly demolished the skull and upper part of the body. This chapel was 28 feet in length, and 25 feet 3 inches wide, and had two entrances: the principal one from the north transept, and a smaller one on the north side. This last appears walled-up in Hollar's view.

Here my survey of the church ended; and I have only now to notice the investigations I was able to make of the sites of adjacent buildings.

On the east side of the cloister, next to the narrow apartment I have called the Vestiary, a large room 37 ft. by 27 ft., of which all external trace had disappeared, was dug out. A stone bench ran all round, except on the west side, where the entrance from the cloister must have been. The east wall had the bases of a small Norman arcade along its interior face. The entrance-door had been completely demolished: not the smallest trace of any portion of the stone-work of it could I discover *in situ*. The only pieces of carved work found in the spot, were the mouldings figured on the next page. These

may have formed some part of the entrance. A moulding similar to *fig. 1* runs round the arch of a door on the east side of the cloister at Peterborough: \* it occurs also in the same position, in conjunction with a similar moulding to *fig. 2*, on the western face of the tower-arch of Attleborough church. † This room, from its position and appearance, I have judged to be the Chapter-house.

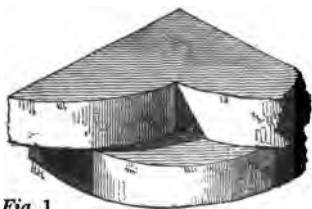


Fig. 1.

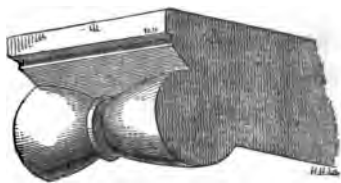


Fig. 2.

MOULDINGS FOUND NEAR CHAPTER-HOUSE ENTRANCE.

Beyond this, the road intersecting the line of wall obliged me to desist from further search. Crossing over it, I recommenced about twenty feet from the chapter-house wall. I soon met with the south-east corner of the cloister, and, immediately adjacent, the base of a small Norman door. The wall on the east side of this part of the cloister was five feet thick. The tile pavement of the cloister walk was here tolerably perfect. After carefully tracing the wall of the splendid refectory on the south side of the cloister, time would not permit me to extend my excavations to the south-east, to the three buttresses marked on the plan. The stonework of the precinct wall, and the surface of the ground to the north and east of the three buttresses, indicated that there was once a canal from the river, which washed the eastern face of the wall these buttresses supported. This is confirmed by a map, made by Burrell in 1807, a wide ditch

\* Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. V., p. 208, plate xvii.; and see also *Archæologia*, Vol. XII., plate xxxiv., fig. 13, p. 171: Moulding from North Entrance of Mettingham Church, Suffolk.

† See Dr. Barrett's *Memorials of Attleborough*: Appendix, plate x.

then existing in the meadow by the river, in the line this canal would have taken, nearly up to the part of the precinct wall I have referred to. The modern wall of the garden, running across the west end of the refectory, was partly erected on the foundations of the west wall, in such a way that it was impossible for me to judge if there had ever been an entrance there: if not, the only entrance must have been by the door at the south-west corner of the cloister, having a space on the cloister wall, to the left of it, slightly recessed, for a lavatory. A low stone wall ran along each side of the interior, about a foot from the main walls, apparently for a seat; the top formed probably of wood. In this large hall was the famous picture of the Blessed Virgin, purchased for this priory by the Lady Maude de Saxmundham, a lay sister of the convent.

The garden wall, west of the cloister, stands on ancient foundations: beyond it I was unable to make any search.

An ancient building will be seen in the plan, to the west of the church, which has been called the Prior's apartments, and seems to occupy the site frequently assigned to them. On the south side, a wide Norman arch and a small Transition doorway close by to the east of it are tolerably perfect; but, as the building had been added to the farm-house, and was then a receptacle for the decaying vegetable refuse of the garden, it was not only difficult, but almost impossible to trace its original form. A well-groined cellar of late date terminates this range of buildings.

The small Transition arch led to a staircase now destroyed, and it will be seen that the room to which it gave access occupies very nearly the same position as the curious ante-chapel at Castleacre.

Such are the present remains of the once noble Priory of Thetford, and such my "plain unvarnished tale" of the most extensive excavations ever made in the county of Norfolk for the purposes of research.

### Priors of Thetford.

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1104. Malgod, removed on appointment.
1107. Stephen occurs 1130, succeeded by Constantine.  
 Martin occurs, 1189 and 1197.  
 Peter Vincent, 1202.  
 Richard, 1226 and 1235.  
 Stephen, 1240 and 1257. Either he or his predecessor murdered by a monk.  
 Vincent, 1286 and 1297.
1302. Ralph de Fresenfield.
1304. Thomas le Bigod, first Prior confirmed by Bishop of Norwich.
1313. Martin.
1316. Peter de Bosco. Blomefield says, he farmed his priory as an alien in 1338, at a hundred marks per annum to the king.  
 James, deposed 1355.
1355. Geoffrey de Rocherio, occurs 1369. Began history of Monastery, but died before he had finished it.  
 Robert de Berton, occurs in will of Sir Thomas Hexford, Knight, Reg<sup>r</sup>., *Heydon*, 1370.  
 John de Fordham, occurs 1372, 1390, and 1395.  
 John Ixworth, died 1430.  
 Nicholas, occurs 1431.
1438. Priory vacant. William de Elveden, sub-prior, presented to the Rectory of Gateshorpe.  
 John Vesey, occurs 1441 and again 1479.  
 Robert Wetyng, 1483 and 1497.  
 Roger de Bernyngham, or Roger Baldry of Bernyngham, occurs 1503 and 1511.  
 William Ixworth, 1518, and continued to the dissolution: he and thirteen surrendered.

## Rising Castle.

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SHORTLY before a meeting of the Norfolk Archæological Society at King's Lynn, in 1850, I took my first look at the noble ruins of Rising Castle, and at that time inquiries and examinations were set on foot, which resulted in the bringing together a large mass of materials relating to its history, which will be found arranged in the following paper.

The village in which the Castle stands is about four miles north-east of Lynn, with a strip of marsh land on its eastern side, separating it from the estuary of the Wash, and surrounded on all other sides by dreary-looking heaths, which have been somewhat relieved in modern times by extensive plantations.

The Castle itself stands on a hill above the village in the midst of stupendous earthworks, and is a fine specimen of Norman castrametation.

The exact date of its erection is rather uncertain; but the history of the course of descent from the Norman era was very clearly narrated by my friend, Mr. A. H. Swatman, at the Lynn meeting before referred to, and I shall avail myself of his careful notes in giving an outline of it.

It seems that Rising was at the Conquest a beruite of the lordship of Snettisham, and, together with that manor and the hundred of Smethdon and hundred and half of Freebridge, was forfeited by Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Conqueror bestowed these possessions upon his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and on his rebellion against William Rufus, they were granted to William d'Albini, "Pincerna Regis." From him they descended to his son, William d'Albini, to whom the erection of the Castle is usually attributed. He married Adeliza, the widow of Henry I., and then assumed in her right the title of Earl of Arundel, and was shortly after created Earl of Sussex. The time of his death is uncertain.

He was succeeded by his son William, who died in 1196, and the estate then descended to his son William, who died in 1221, leaving two sons, viz., William d'Albini, the eldest, who died without issue in 1224; and Hugh d'Albini, who married Isabel, daughter of William, Earl de Warenne and Surrey, who died 7th May, 1243, without issue, leaving four coheirs, viz.

1. Robert, son and heir of Mabel, his eldest sister (then deceased) by Robert de Tateshall.
2. John Fitzalan, son and heir of Isabel, another sister, (then also deceased) by John Lord Fitzalan.
3. Nicholan, another sister, then the wife of Roger de Somery.
4. Cecily, another sister, wife of Roger Lord Montalt.

These coheirs shortly after made a partition of his vast estates, by which the Castle and Manor of Rising were assigned to Roger de Montalt in right of his wife. She survived her husband some years, and at her death left two sons, John and Robert,\* who each succeeded to the property, the latter only leaving issue: viz., two sons, Roger† and Robert. Roger dying without issue, was succeeded by Robert, a man of considerable note as a warrior and a statesman. Mr. Swatman, with great industry and research, extracted from the Lynn Records an account of a very remarkable lawsuit he had with the Corporation of Lynn, arising out of his claims of the tollbooth and tolls of the Port and Market of Lynn. It was commenced in the 6th Edward II., by Robert de Montalt against the Prior, the Mayor, and Commonalty of Lynn. The record stated that an assault and caption of Robert and his men had been committed or permitted upon his being in Lynn for purposes of business, the king being at that time in parts beyond the sea. Upon which occasion Nicholas de Northampton and a host of other malefactors, with banners unfurled in a warlike manner, insulted the same Robert and his men, pursuing them to his dwelling-house within the said town, which they besieged, and broke down the doors thereof and entered into, and there beat him and his men, and carried away certain arms, swords, spurs, a gilt zone, purses with money, and jewels to the value of £40; and that the defendants led away and imprisoned his men, so that their services were lost, and took him from his dwelling to the house of Robert Costin in the said town, and there imprisoned him for two days, and compelled him by fear of death to release all actions he had against the Mayor and Commonalty, and to grant them and their successors the right of appointing a bailiff for collecting his part of the

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\* Inquis. p. mortem Rob. de Montealto 3 Edward I.—Vol. I., p. 55.

† Inquis. p. m. Roger de Montealto 25 Edward I.—Vol. I., p. 134.

profits of the tollbooth and of the water and port of Lynn, and to lease these profits for twenty years to them, and to seal divers writings concerning the premises; and that they afterwards carried him to the market-place, and there compelled him to acknowledge the writings in the presence of a multitude of persons, and by an oath on the body of our Lord then administered by a certain chaplain, to swear that he would observe and keep the obligation of the same writings, and in no way contravene them; and that they also compelled him to be bound in the sum of £2000 by the mainprise or surety of Robert de Scales and John Howard; also, that they removed his bailiff of the tollbooth and appointed another in his place, and committed divers other enormities, in contempt of our Lord the King, to the damage of £2000, and to the damage of the said Robert de Montalt of 100,000 marks. The Mayor and Commonalty answered, that they had committed no breach of the peace against the said Robert de Montalt, but that on the occasion referred to, certain of his men had come into the town of Lynn, and with force and arms wounded Hugh de Holte and another, burgesses of the town, so that their lives were despaired of; and that in consequence, certain of the said Commonalty of Lynn had demanded the said aggressors should deliver themselves up, to be dealt with according to law, which demand was refused by the aggressors, who defended themselves until Robert de Montalt came to aid their trespass, and with force and arms rescued them and carried them to his said dwelling-house; whereupon the Mayor and Commonalty followed and captured them, according to law and custom. And as to the deeds of grant of the profits of the tollbooth and the right of appointing a bailiff thereof, they said he had not been compelled to do these things, but had done them of his own accord. Judgment was given in favour of Robert de Montalt, and damages awarded to the amount of £6000. This sum, or a composition of £4000, they were obliged to pay by



periodical instalments, and the town was heavily taxed to raise these sums. In the muniments of Lynn are many of the acquittances for these instalments, beautifully written in Norman-French, under the seal of arms of Robert de Montalt, together with a letter from Montalt to the wise men, his very dear friends, John de Thornedge, Mayor, and the Commonalty of Lynn, requesting prompt payment of an instalment in arrear by reason of some disturbances, which had given him much grief and uneasiness.

Robert de Montalt married Emma de Stradsett, and having no issue by her made an agreement with King Edward III. for the sale of this castle and manor, with the manors of Snettisham and Kenynghall and the fourth part of the toll-booth of Lynn, in consideration of 10,000 marks; and also on the conditions of a Deed of Settlement, of the 1st of May, 1326 (1 Edward III.) by which these estates were settled on himself and wife for life, with remainder to their issue male (if any) and in default to Isabella, Queen Dowager of England, for life; then to John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, second son of King Edward II., with an ultimate remainder to the king and his heirs. Three years after this settlement, Robert de Montalt died, without issue, and on the 3rd December, 1331, Emma, his widow, in consideration of an annuity of £400 per annum, surrendered her life estate to the Queen Dowager, who forthwith entered into possession and took up her residence here. On her decease, in 1358, John of Eltham, having died without issue, Edward Prince of Wales became possessed of the estate, as Duke of Cornwall, under a settlement made 1st October, 1337, confirmed by Parliament, and from him it descended to his son, King Richard II. as appurtenant to the Duchy. Richard II., however, dealt with it quite untrammelled by the provisions of the settlement, and in his second year exchanged it with John le Vaillant, Duke of Brittany, for the Castle of Brest. The Duke appears to have paid several visits to Rising during

his ownership of it, the Lynn Rolls recording various presents made to him on such occasions. In 1397 the exchange was avoided, the Castle of Brest being restored to the Duke, and Rising reverting to the Duchy of Cornwall. The king, however, made another illegal grant of it, in the 22nd year of his reign, to his uncle, Edmund de Langley, Duke of York, and the heirs male of his body, in whose family it descended, pursuant to the limitations of the grant, to Edward Duke of York, who afterwards came to the throne as Edward IV. He, in the 12th year of his reign, reannexed the estate to the Duchy of Cornwall, and settled it on his son, Edward Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, from which time it remained part of the Duchy possessions, until the 36th Henry VIII., when it was exchanged, for certain estates in Suffolk, with Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and Henry, Earl of Surrey, his son.

In the 15th year of Queen Elizabeth, it was, on the attainder of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, granted by letters patent to Edward Earl of Oxford; but this grant was shortly afterward revoked, and the estate given to a younger branch of the Howards, in the person of Henry Earl of Northampton, who dying without issue, it reverted to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, as his heir. The estate continued in the family of the Dukes of Norfolk until it was sold, in 1693, to Thomas Howard, grandson of Thomas Earl of Berkshire; and from that time it was inherited by various members of the Howard family, and now belongs to the Honourable Mary Howard, widow of Lieutenant-Colonel Fulke Greville Howard, son of the first Lord Templeton.

Such has been the course of descent of the Castle and Manor of Rising. Whether the castle was built by the person and at the time usually stated will, I think, admit of doubt. There is a remarkable similarity in the plan and arrangements of Norwich and Rising, so strong in many points as to render it likely the same architect designed both.

Earl Ralph had Norwich, and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, Rising, after the Conquest; and they were concerned in, and both forfeited their possessions by rebellion against Rufus. In the 17th year of King John it required extensive repairs, which, as there had been no siege or assault upon it, must have proceeded from natural decay.\*

But the fact of the greatest interest in the annals of Rising, that which casts a lurid light on the history of this castle, was its possession by the "she-wolf of France," Isabella, Queen Dowager of England.

It will doubtless be remembered that Rising has been most usually pointed out, both by the early chroniclers and modern historians, as the place of her *imprisonment* and death. After Mortimer's execution, on the 29th November in the 4th year of Edward the Third's reign, we are told that "the Queen Mother was deprived of her enormous jointure, and shut up in her Castle of Rising, where she spent the remaining twenty-seven years of her life in obscurity. Edward, however, paid her a respectful visit at least once a year, and allowed her £3,000, and afterwards £4,000, for her annual expences." It is remarkable that Blomefield, who repeats the story of her twenty-seven years' imprisonment and death at this place, prints, but a few pages further on, Letters Patent under her hand, appointing John de Herling, Constable of Rising, dated from her "Castle of Hertford," in the 20th year of Edward III.

Miss Strickland quotes and adopts the account of Froissart much to the same effect, adding, that "Castle Rising was the place where Queen Isabella was destined to spend the long years of her widowhood;" that "during the first two years her seclusion was most rigorous, but in 1332 her condition

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\* Mandatum est Herveo Belet q'd dimittat Constabul'm de Risinges cap'e de bosco Joh'is de Bovill' de Bausee qui est cum inimicis d'ni Reg' q'd opus fu'it ad f'mand Castr' Comit'is Arundell' de Risinges. T. Reg apud Colex xxiiij. die Marc. A. 17 Johann' A.D. 1216.—*Close Rolls*, Vol. I. p. 255 b.

was ameliorated," and quotes a notice of a "Pilgrimage to Walsingham" from the Lynn Records; and her account of her thus concludes: "Isabella died at Castle Rising, August 22nd, 1358, aged 63. She chose the church of the Grey Friars, where the mangled remains of her paramour Mortimer had been buried eight-and-twenty years previously, for the place of her interment; and, carrying her characteristic hypocrisy even to the grave, she was buried with the heart of her murdered husband on her breast. King Edward [gave his mother a pompous funeral,\* and] issued a precept to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, November 20th, to cleanse the streets from dirt and all impurities, and to gravel Bishopsgate Street and Aldgate against the coming of the body of his dearest mother, Queen Isabella, and directs the officers of his Exchequer to disburse £9 for that purpose. Isabella was interred in the Choir of the Grey Friars within Newgate, and had a fine alabaster tomb erected to her memory."†

Such is the latest account of this miserable woman's end; but Mr. A. H. Swatman, whose acquaintance with the Records of the Corporation of Lynn is most extensive and accurate, stated at the Lynn meeting in 1850, his belief that she was not a prisoner at Rising, for that he found she occasionally travelled to other parts of the kingdom, once even to London; that she had been at Northampton, Walsingham, and Langley; and that the king, her son, visited her with his queen in the eighth year of his reign, and again in the following year, when many presents of pipes of wine, barrels of sturgeons, falcons, and other things were made by the Commonalty of Lynn for the king's entertainment; and that the absence of all notice on the Lynn Rolls of preparations for her funeral, led him to the conclusion that she did not die at Rising.

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\* This statement is omitted in the last edition, 1851.

† *Lives of the Queens of England*, 1851, Vol. I., p. 540.

Shortly after the Lynn Meeting a series of extracts from the Patent Rolls on the same subject was kindly forwarded to me by Sir Francis Palgrave, through Mr. Dawson Turner.

The earliest of the extracts furnished from the Patent Rolls bears date the 21st December, 1330, a month after Mortimer's death, and is addressed to certain gentlemen, directing them to form an escort for Edward's "dearest mother," and to take up horses for her use in her journey from Berkhamstead, where she then was, to Windsor, where he desired her presence during the Feast of Christmas.

*Pat. p. 2,*  
*4 Edw. III.* } *D intendendo Thome* } *R Comitibz, Baronibz, Mil-*  
*m. 16.* } *Wake ⁊ aliis.* } *itibz, Vicecomitibz, Bathis*  
*Ministri3, ⁊ aliis fidelibz*

*suis tam infra libertates q<sup>a</sup>m ext<sup>a</sup> ad quos t<sup>c</sup>. Saltm,*  
*Sciatis qd cum ordinavim<sup>⁹</sup> qd Isabella Regina*  
*Angl, mat<sup>r</sup> nra carissima in instanti festo Natalis*  
*Dni apud Wyndesore, comoret<sup>r</sup> ⁊ ea de causa*  
*ditcos ⁊ fideles nros, Thomam Wake, Ebulo<sup>n</sup>e*  
*Lestraunge, Wiffm de Bohun, ⁊ Edwardu de*  
*Bohun, ad ipam matrem nram, apud Berkham-*  
*stede, jam morantem miserim<sup>⁹</sup> ut eidem mri nre*  
*cōmitivam faciant usq ad dcm locū de Wyndesore,*  
*put eis p nos plenius est injunctū vob mandam<sup>⁹</sup>,*  
*qd eisdem Thome, Ebuloni, Wiffo, ⁊ Edwardo, ⁊*  
*eorū cuilibet in hiis que pmissa contingunt inten-*  
*dentis sitis consulentes ⁊ auxiliantes quociens, ⁊*  
*quando p ipos seu eorū aliquem, sup hoc ex pte*  
*nra fūitis pmuniti. In cujus, t<sup>c</sup>., T. R apud*  
*Westm, xxj die Decemb<sup>r</sup>.*

*P ipm Regem ⁊ cois.*

From the pages of the new edition of the *Fœdera* I have extracted the opening statement of Letters Patent of the 29th March, 6th Edward III., whereby the sum of £3,000 was

granted to her for her life, and charged upon certain manors, lands, and ferm-rents of various burghs, she having “*nuper simpliciter et sua spontanea voluntate*” given up her dowry lands to the King.

1332, 6 Edw. III. Vol. II. p. 2, 835. 29 March.	}	Pro Isabella Regina Angliæ, matre Regis. Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod cum Isabella Regina Angl' mater nostra carissima, <i>nuper simpliciter et sua spontanea voluntate</i> , reddidisset in manum nostram omnia castra, villas, maneria, terras, tenementa et redditus, tam ea quæ tenuit in dotem seu dotalicium ex assignacione domini E nuper Regis Angl' patris nostri, quam ea quæ tenuit ad terminum vitæ suæ, ex assignacione nostrâ; ac nos post modum, ad statum ipsius matris nostræ consideracionem habentes de assensu prælatorum, comitum, baronum et aliorum magnatum in Parlamento nostro, anno regni nostri quarto, apud Westm' habito, existencium, concesserimus eidem matri nostræ tria milia, librarum pro sustentacione suâ, ad terminum vitæ suæ ad scaccarium nostrum annuatim percipiend': &c. &c.
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The succeeding extracts from the Patent Rolls, extending from the 5th to the 22nd Edward III., indicate various arrangements respecting the payment of her dower, dictated rather by the King's necessities than by any other consideration; and also show her making exchanges, and disposing of and managing her property in various parts of the kingdom.

<i>Rot. Pat.</i> 5 Edw. III. p. 2, m. 2.	}	Grant to Queen Isabella of certain castles, manors, lands, and tenements, therein specified, of the value of £2,000, in part satisfaction of the dower and the sum of £3,000 given her for her support.
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Windsor, 16 Nov. (5 Edw. III.)

<i>Rot. Pat.</i> 5 Edw. III. p. 2, m. 6.	}	Grant to Queen Isabella of certain castles, manors, lands, and tenements, therein specified, to the value of £1,000 (with the castles, manors, &c., of the value of £2,000) in lieu of her dower and the sum of £3,000 granted her for her support.
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Clarendon, 6 Dec. (5 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } Regrant to Queen Isabella of the county of Ponthieu and  
8 Edw. III. } Monstroille, with all castles, &c., thereunto belonging, for-  
p. 2, m. 3. } merly granted to her by King Edward the Second.  
Westminster, 23 Sept. (8 E. III.) \*

*Rot. Pat.* } Grant to Queen Isabella of the manors of Fasteerne and Wotton,  
8 Edw. III. } co. Wilts, in lieu of an annual farm of a hundred pounds of  
p. 2, m. 3. } the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and a farm of 45s. 10d.  
of the town of Ipswich.  
Roxburgh, 13 Dec. (8 E. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } Grant to Queen Isabella of certain liberties in the castles,  
8 Edw. III. } manors, lands, and tenements given her in lieu of her dower  
p. 1, m. 26. } of £3,000. York, 1 March (8 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } Inspecimus and Confirmation of a Deed, by which Isabella,  
9 Edw. III. } Queen of England, grants to Robert de Morles the manor of  
p. 1, m. 3. } Framesden, co. Suffolk, in exchange for certain manors, &c.,  
which he inherited by the death of Robert de Montalt.  
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 24 June (9 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } Grant to Queen Isabella of certain liberties in the manors of  
9 Edw. III. } Fasteerne and Wotton, co. Wilts, given to her in lieu of an  
p. 1, m. 18. } annual farm of a hundred pounds of the town of Newcastle-  
upon-Tyne, and a farm of 45s. 10d. of the town of Ipswich.  
York, 25 May (9 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } Licence to Queen Isabella to make a testamentary disposition  
10 Edw. III. } of all her goods and chattels; with power to her executors  
p. 2, m. 26. } to receive for one year after her death the rents and profits  
arising from the manors, lands, &c., granted to her by the  
King during her life, for the execution of the Will.  
Leicester, 1 October (10 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } Grant to Queen Isabella of £1,500, which, with certain manors,  
11 Edw. III. } &c., of the value of £3,000 formerly granted to her, are in  
p. 2, m. 10. } lieu of her dower of £4,500.  
London, 11 August (11 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } Exemplification, at the request of William de Montague, of  
11 Edw. III. } the Inspecimus and Confirmation of a Deed, by which  
p. 3, m. 17. } Isabella, Queen of England, grants to Robert de Morles and

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\* New edition of "*Fodera*," Vol. II., p. 2, fol. 803, this regrant given at length, dated 24th September.

his heirs the manor of Framesden, co. Suffolk, in exchange for certain manors, &c., which he inherited at the death of Robert de Montalt.

Thame, 15 Nov. (11 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } The King inspects and confirms a Deed made by Queen  
12Edw.III. } Isabella to William de Montague, Earl of Salisbury, of the  
p. 2, m. 10. } castle and manor of Hawardyn, the manors of Lee, Boselee, and Neston, co. Chester, the castle and vill. of Montalt, and the seneschalship of Chester, with all its appurtenances in the counties of Chester and Flint, and in Wales, in exchange for 600 marks.

Ipswich, 16 July (12 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } The King inspects and confirms a Deed, made by William de  
12Edw.III. } Montague, Earl of Salisbury, to Queen Isabella, of 600  
p. 2, m. 10. } marks per annum in exchange for the castle and manor of Hawardyn, the manors of Lee, Boselee, and Neston, co. Chester, the castle and vill. of Montalt, and the seneschalship of Chester, with all appurtenances in the counties of Chester and Flynt, and in Wales, thereunto belonging.

Ipswich, 16 July (12 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } Letters Patent, regranteeing to Queen Isabella the sum of £4,500,  
12Edw.III. } formerly given to her in dower, *returned to the King at her*  
p. 2, m. 12. } *request.* Walton, 26 June (12 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } Exemplification, at the request of Queen Isabella, of Letters  
13Edw.III. } Patent, 8 Edw. III., granting to her certain liberties in the  
p. 2, m. 8. } castles, manors, lands, &c., given her in lieu of her dower of £3,000.  
Langley, 15 Nov. (13 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } Exemplification, at the request of Queen Isabella, of a Grant  
14Edw.III. } made to her, 11 Edw. III. of £1,500 out of the customs of  
p. 1, m. 6. } the ports of London, Boston, and Kingston-upon-Hull, which, with certain manors, &c., of the value of £3,000 formerly granted to her, are in lieu of her dowry of £4,500.  
Westminster, 22 April (14 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } Grant to Queen Isabella of £201. 3s. 2d., in lieu of an annual  
14Edw.III. } farm of £201. 3s. 2d. of the town of Southampton, formerly  
p. 3, m. 58. } granted her.

Waltham Holy Cross, 1 July (14 Edw. III.)



*Rot. Pat.* } Grant to Queen Isabella of the town of Southampton of the  
16 Edw. III. } value of £100 per annum, in part of satisfaction £201. 3s. 2d.  
p. 3, m. 7. } formerly granted her.

Kenyngton, 4 Dec. (16 Edw. III.)

18 Edw. III. } "*Rex, Senescallo suo Vasconie,*" &c. "*Pro Isabella Regina*  
*Rym. Fodera* } *Angliæ matre Regis*" totam terram quæ fuit olim vice-  
Vol. III., p. } comitis Castellion', &c., given to her for life.  
1, fol. 16. }

*Rot. Pat.* } Grant to Queen Isabella of certain liberties in the manors,  
19 Edw. III. } lands, &c., formerly granted to her by Letters Patent,  
p. 1, m. 23. } 16 Nov., 5 Edw. III.; and 6 Dec., 5 Edw. III.

Westminster, 13 March (19 Edw. III.)

*Rot. Pat.* } Inspeximus and Confirmation of certain Indentures by which  
21 Edw. III. } Queen Isabella grants to Edward, Prince of Wales, the  
p. 3, m. 3. } manor and hundred of Maklesfeld, co. Chester, in exchange  
for certain manors, &c., therein specified.

Westminster, 26 Nov. (21 Edw. III.)

*Close Roll,* } Isabella, Queen of England, releases to Henry, Earl of Lan-  
22 Edw. III. } caster, Derby, Leicester, &c., all her right in the castle of  
p. 2, m. 5. } Clydrehon, the manors of Penwortham, Totynton, and  
Rachedale, co. Lanc., and in the manor of Slayburn with  
its hamlets, and Bouland Chace, co. York, and in Pomfret  
Castle.

The following extract from the Patent Rolls is a Letter of Purveyance, in the 12th Edward III., for the Queen Isabella's household at Pontefract Castle, where she appears at that time to have been residing.

*Patent Roll*, 12 Edw. III., p. 2, m. 27.

Ð intendendo p̄vis p̄ } R̄ Omibz Baffis ⁊ fidelibz suis tuam  
hospic̄ Isabelle Regine } infra lib̄tates q̄m extra ad quos,  
Angl̄. } ⁊c., Saktm̄. Cum dit̄us nob  
Petrus de Ellerker on̄let̄ p̄ Theſ̄  
hospicij Isabelle Regine Angl̄, m̄ris n̄re, carissime ad ea  
que p̄ officio Salsarie hospicij p̄d̄ci necessaria fuerint p̄  
denariis, ip̄ius m̄ris n̄re inde in garderoba sua solvend̄

pvidendū t̄ emendū vob̄ mandam̄ qđ eidem Petro in p̄missis faciendū sitis consulentes t̄ auxiliantes quociens t̄ quando p̄ ip̄m sup̄ hoc ex pte n̄ra fūitis requisiti. Volumus enim qđ pvidencie h̄j<sup>o</sup> fiant juxta formam statuti de cōi consilio regni n̄ri, nup̄ editi t̄ p̄visi in quo continet<sup>r</sup> qđ prise t̄ pvidencie p̄ hospicio n̄ro t̄ hospiciis consortis n̄re t̄ liborē n̄rorē fiant p̄ p̄ciū f̄cm p̄ Constabular̄ t̄ quatuor p̄bos hoīes villarē ubi h̄j<sup>o</sup> prise t̄ pvidencie fieri contingit ad hoc juratos t̄ absq̄ cōminacōe inde faciendū et qđ inte<sup>o</sup> captores t̄ p̄visores h̄j<sup>o</sup> t̄ illos de quibz illa bona capta fuerint in p̄sencia Constabular̄ t̄ app̄ciatorē p̄dōrē fiant tallie de h̄j<sup>o</sup> rebz sic captis sigillis dōrē captorē sive p̄visorē consignate p̄ quas quidem tallias satisfaccio fiat illis a quibz res ille sic capte fuerint et qđ si aliquis captorē vel p̄visorē p̄ hospiciis p̄d̄cis p̄missa alio modo fecit statim arestet<sup>r</sup> t̄ p̄ villatam ubi prisa illa f̄ca fuit p̄xime gaole cōmittat<sup>r</sup> t̄ si inde convincat<sup>r</sup> fiat ibidem de eo sicut de latrone si quantitas bonorē illorē hoc exigat. Nolum<sup>o</sup> tamen qđ in feodo Ecc̄ie cont<sup>a</sup> lib̄tatem ejusdem colore p̄videnciarē h̄j<sup>o</sup> quicq<sup>m</sup> capiat<sup>r</sup>. In cuj<sup>o</sup>, t̄c., p̄ unū annū dur̄. T. R. apud Gippewicū xvj. die Junij.

P̄ billam Theſ̄ ip̄ius Regine.

Conſ̄ L̄ras R. de p̄tēcōe h̄ent Officiarij subscripti de p̄d̄co hospicio de p̄videnc̄ faciendū p̄ officiis suis subscriptis videt̄.

Riçus de Heggham p̄ feno aven̄ litera t̄ aliis que necessaria fuerint p̄ quibusdam equis t̄ pullanis de equicio ip̄ius Regine infra honorē de Pontefracto existentibz.

Riçus de Kynebett p̄ officio Pulletrie hospicij p̄d̄ci.

Witts Brigget p̄ officio Marescalcie hospicij p̄d̄ci.

Robtus de Creye p̄ officio scutillarie hospicij p̄d̄ci.

Robtus de Islyngtoñ p̄ officio grosse coquine hospicij p̄d̄ci.

Radus de Chilton p̄ officio butillarie hospicij p̄d̄ci.

Nichus de Walcote p̄ officio garderobe hospicij p̄d̄ci.

Johes Russel p officio aule ⁊ carne hospicij pđči.  
 Wiffs de Moltoñ p officio panetrie hospicij pđči.  
 Wiffs de Stansfeld p officio coquine hospicij pđči.  
 Johes le Touk p vinis que p hospicio pđčo necessaria  
 fuerint.

In 1344 Queen Isabella was with the King and Queen at the Palace of Norwich, where the King celebrated his birthday, as were the Earls of Derby, Warwick, Arundel, Northampton, Suffolk, and many barons and knights, *and there they had an enormous pie, WONDERFULLY LARGE!*—[*Chronicle of a Norfolk Priory*, (qu. *Langley* ?) of which only a modern copy exists, in the Harleian MSS. 2188.] She obtained, the next year, for the city of Norwich, a grant of the fee of the Castle and other privileges. The Charter was sealed by the King at Hertford (one of her own castles) on the 19th August in the 19th year of his reign, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Chichester and London, and many other great lords being there present; and it is made “de gracia nostra speciali, et ad requisitionem Isabelle Regine Anglie *matris nostre carissime.*” \*

Finally, we have an Inquisition taken at Salisbury, after her death, which states that she died at the *Castle of Hertford* the 23rd of August in the 32nd Edward III.

*Inq.* 32 Edw. III. (1 nrs), N°. 43.

Inquisicio capť apud Novam Sarę coram Johñe de Estbury Escaeť Dñi Regis in Coñ Wilteš xxij<sup>do</sup> die menš Septembr̃ anno regni Regis Edwardi ȳcij post Conq̃stū tcesimo sċdo virtute cujusd̃m bñis huic Inqui-  
ciċoi consuť, &c.

Qui dicūt qđ Isabella nup Regia Angť mater Dñi Reğ

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\* Blomefield, 8vo. edition, Vol. III., pp. 89, 90.

tenuit tam in dñico suo die quo obiit q<sup>m</sup> in ſuicō Caſtrū  
 ⁊ Maneſ de Meere cū ptiñ ex dimiſſiōe Dñi Edwardi  
 illuſtri P<sup>ncipis</sup> Waſſ ⁊ Duç Cornuſ ad ſiminū vite dē  
 Iſabeſſ de dō P<sup>ncipe</sup> ⁊ valent dēa Caſtrum ⁊ Maneſ in  
 omib; exitib; jux<sup>a</sup> verā valorē p annū lx libr quorē revcio  
 dōrē Caſtr ⁊ Maneſ ad p<sup>dc</sup>m Dñm Edwardū P<sup>ncipe</sup>  
 ptinet. Et qđ p<sup>dc</sup>a Iſabelle tenuit ad ſiminū vite ſue in  
 assignacōm dotis ſue in Coñ p<sup>dc</sup>o Maneſ de Faſterne,  
 Wottoñ, Tolkenham, Chelew<sup>the</sup>, Compton, Wynſl<sup>me</sup>,  
 Woderewe, ⁊ Syrghedeñ ⁊ de valoſ dōrē Maneſ ⁊ p  
 que ſuicia ⁊ de quib; tenent<sup>r</sup> penitus ignorant. Et nulla  
 alia ſras neq; teñ tenuit in dñico ſuo neq; in ſuicio in  
 baſſia mea in Coñ Wilſ die quo obiit. Et dicūt qđ dēa  
 Iſabella diē ſuū clauſit extremū *apud Hertford xxij<sup>o</sup> die  
 menſ Auguſti p<sup>x</sup> p<sup>ti</sup>ſ*. Et dicūt qđ Dñs Rex p<sup>pin</sup>q<sup>or</sup>  
 heres ejus eſt. In cujus rei teſtiōm p<sup>dc</sup>i Juratores huic  
 inquiciōi ſigilla ſua appoſuerūt. Daſ loco die ⁊ anno  
 ſup<sup>a</sup>dēis.

Inquiſ cap<sup>t</sup> apud Lenne ēpi in Coñ Norff coram Ro<sup>go</sup>  
 de Wolferſton Eſc Dñi Reğ in dō Coñ xxv. die Sep-  
 temb<sup>r</sup> anno r<sup>o</sup> R<sup>o</sup> E. ſcij a Conqueſt Triceſimo ſcdo jux<sup>a</sup>  
 tenoſ b<sup>ris</sup> Dñi Reğ huic Inquiſ conſ, &c.

Qui diç ſr ſac<sup>rm</sup> ſuū qđ Iſabeſſ nup Regina Ang<sup>t</sup>  
 mater Dñi Reğ qui nūc eſt tenuit ad ſm vite ſue Caſtrū  
 ⁊ Maneriū de Rysingge cū ptiñ in Coñ Norff de Dño  
 Rege in capi<sup>t</sup> p quod ſuic ignoſ quorē revſio dōrē Caſtri  
 ⁊ Maneſ cū ptiñ ad Edwardū P<sup>ncipem</sup> Waſſ ⁊ hēd ſuos  
 ſpectat ex dono ⁊ conſeſſione Dñi Reğ, &c.

Miss Strickland, it will be observed, speaks with consider-  
 able indignation of the Queen's desire to be buried at the  
 Grey Friars, London, because Mortimer was said to have  
 been buried there. His body had been removed from thence  
 long before, for Miss Strickland refers in a note in a previous

page to a precept in the *Fædera*, permitting the wife and son of Mortimer to remove it to Wigmore. It is addressed to the Grey Friars of *Coventry* (1331, 5 Edward III.)

The above new materials for the history of the life and death of this extraordinary woman were communicated to archæologists in the fourth volume of *Norfolk Archæology*; and very shortly afterward my friend Mr. Bond, the Egerton Librarian in the British Museum, communicated additional information relating to her to the Society of Antiquaries, from the treasures of the Cottonian Library. Among the MSS. injured by fire was one vellum book, shrivelled up with the heat, which with infinite care and pains Mr. Bond restored to a legible condition. This was the Household Book of Queen Isabella, from October, 1357, to her death, during all which period she was at Hertford Castle; and the entries are continued until the household was broken up in December, 1358.\*

Mr. Bond is inclined to think, notwithstanding the evidence adduced above, that she was for a time compelled to confine herself to one of her castles, although not immediately upon Mortimer's death, nor for any very lengthened period. He particularly points to Froissart's narrative that she was "*soon after* ordered to be confined to a goodly castle," as being confirmed by the extract from the Patent Rolls providing her escort to Windsor to spend the Christmas, immediately subsequent to Mortimer's death. How great a latitude may be accorded to Froissart's expression, "*soon after*," I must leave: it is certain her residence or confinement (call it what we will) did not commence until after the 3rd December, 1331, and that during the next seven years, although no record appears of her attendance at the Court, she visited Northampton, Walsingham, and other places, and entertained the King in regal style at Rising.

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\* *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXV., p. 453.

From the 12th year of her son's reign she seems to have been constantly upon the move, until, in the year before her death, she was at Rising for a time, and thence appears to have gone to Hertford, where the Household Book commences in October. This curious book not only details all the outlay of each day upon the several meals, but all the disbursements on dress, jewels, messengers, alms, and presents, indeed, the expenses of every sort or kind; and in the margin are noted the guests entertained each day, from which we learn this remarkable fact, that in this, the last year of her life, among her closest friends *were the daughter and grandson of Roger Mortimer*, together with many Frenchmen, and strangers; and couriers are paid for passing between the French Court and the Queen, showing that she was at that time taking part in state affairs. She appears to have required medical attendance at intervals from the 15th of February, 1357-8. In the beginning of August there were several night journeys made to London for medicine: on the 20th Master Simon de Bredon was summoned from thence to see the Queen's state. On the 21st the Countess of Warren, her niece, arrived, and on the 22nd, according to this Household Book, she died, and not on the 23rd, as stated in the Inquisition.\*

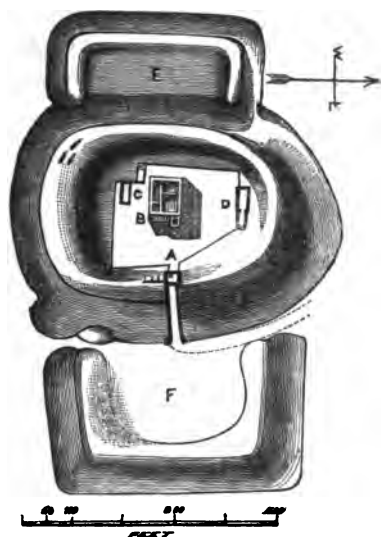
There can be no question that the evidence of this volume is decisive as to the time and place of her death: it must have taken place at Hertford Castle, on the 22nd of August, 1358, and on the 27th she was buried in the Grey Friars within Newgate, the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating, and the King himself being present.

The Castle itself will now claim our attention. It will be seen by the plan that the buildings are all erected within a

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\* On the Great Roll of the Exchequer, many payments of rents and annuities in the following year, of property which had belonged to Queen Isabella, are stated to commence from the 2nd of August in the 32nd year of Edward III. In every entry I examined the same date was given.

nearly circular space, enclosed by a large bank and ditch. To the east and west of this great circular work are square additions protected in a similar manner, that to the east being the larger and having the bank and ditch remaining in a much more perfect state than that to the west.



PLAN OF THE CASTLE AND EARTHWORKS.

The way to the Castle is by a road running along the north and east sides of the ditch of the central work, entering it nearly in the centre of the eastern enclosure, passing over a bridge and through the Norman gate-house figured at the head of this paper, at which point all the buildings now remaining of this once famous Castle meet the view.

With the subject of the Earthworks, in which the Castle stands, I do not purpose to do more than to express a strong belief in the very early character of the central work, and that the additions east and west are of the Roman period. The earthworks at Castleacre, to be subsequently noticed,

afford such very valuable evidence on the subject of earthworks of this character, and assist so materially in assigning a date to these, that it will suffice for me now merely to refer to my remarks upon the earthworks at Castleacre Castle for the evidence on which I ground my belief in what I have now stated.

The existence of these formidable earthworks may well account for the erection of the Norman Castle at this place; it is difficult on any other grounds to account for the selection of this locality.

Of the numerous buildings that once filled the space within the lofty bank—towers, chapels, halls, galleries, chambers, lodgings, kitchens, pantries, butteries, stables, granaries, &c.—nothing now remains but the Great Tower (or Keep, as it is now usually styled), the Chapel, and the Gate-house, and a few foundations and walls of the Constable's Lodgings, a brick building of Henry the Seventh's time. The wall and towers, which formerly crowned the bank, are gone, except a fragment or two of a brick wall of the time of Henry VI., seen to the right of the gate in the view beneath.



The complete destruction in this and many other cases of all the buildings, with the exception of the Great Tower and



a few of the minor buildings, has led to great misapprehension as to the accommodation afforded in these ancient castles. At Newcastle-on-Tyne, where every thing but the Great Tower is gone, antiquaries even up to a recent period (when Mr. Longstaffe effectually laid about him) have occupied themselves in hunting out within its narrow space the accommodation indicated in early surveys: a "King's Hall" and "King's Chamber," a "King's Free Chapel within the Castle," a "Queen's Chamber within the Mantle" ("*le mantaille*" *le magne taille*)—all these have been detected in the Great Tower there, although it was appropriated for a prison from the very earliest period, and although a large space around it is covered with indications of early buildings, some retaining names indicating the purposes for which they were appropriated. The same error is continually made in describing many other Castles of Norman foundation: Colchester, Rochester, Orford, Conisburgh, are familiar instances.

At Rising, we are told that we may see in this Great Tower "the principal dwelling and numerous apartments for the accommodation of the household, adapted for the purposes of state, domestic and religious uses," and for "a place of retreat for the garrison when driven from the walls and towers." And here also is the "Domestic Chapel"—of which more hereafter—and all this in a building of two stories and about seventy-five feet square.

Visitors, too, will have the actual apartment occupied by Queen Isabella pointed out to them; but where she disposed of King Edward and his Court, when they came to visit her, in the narrow limits of the Great Tower, is not stated.

At Castle Hedingham, in Essex, all the buildings are gone except the Great Tower, which remains wonderfully perfect in the centre of a large oval earthwork. Of this castle, the present proprietor, Mr. Majendie, kindly assisted me in making a plan, and he also gave me access to a very curious volume containing a survey and description of the Castle and

Manor in the time of Elizabeth. In this volume is a ground-plan of the castle at that time, of which a facsimile will be found in the accompanying plate. This will show the mode in which the necessary buildings were spread over the space within the walls. The elaborate ancient description which I published (with Mr. Majendie's permission) in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1853, shows that the Great Tower contained a kitchen with a well in it, a dungeon, two chambers, one with a chimney, and an armoury in the upper story. No "Baronial Halls," "Domestic Chapels," or any thing of the kind.\*

The description in Roger of Wendover's Chronicle of the Siege of Rochester Castle, in 1215, gives a vivid notion of the purpose to which the "Great Tower" was applied. After a long siege the king employed miners and threw down a great part of the walls of the castle. "The soldiers of the king now rushed to the breaches in the walls, and by constant fierce assaults they forced the besieged to abandon the castle. . . . The besieged *now* entered *the Tower* amidst the attacks of the king's soldiers, who had entered the castle through the breaches. The king then applied his miners to the tower, and having, after much difficulty, broken through the walls, an opening was made for the assailants." And, finally, the garrison surrendered.

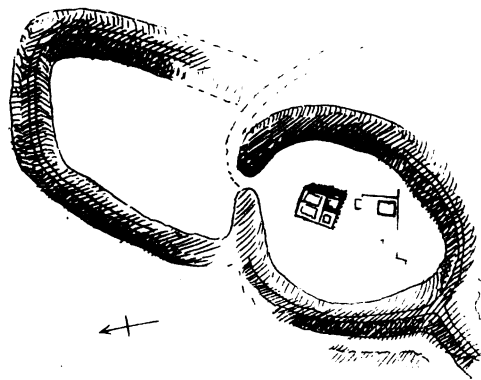
This was the object for which the massive "Great Towers" of the Norman period were built, and not for the purposes of dwellings. They were as fond of large and lofty halls† and chambers, of extensive kitchens and butteries, in mediæval times, as we are now. And though they lacked many of the conveniences and refinements of the present day, although their habits were ruder and their fare coarser than would now be tolerated, there are many points in construction and

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\* *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XXXIX., New Series, p. 598.

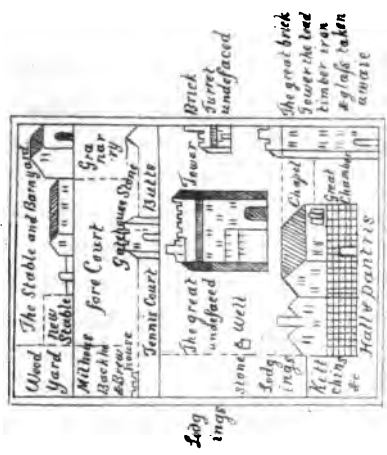
† The fine Norman Hall still remains at Flint: the Hall at Oakham is Norman; that at Winchester, Early English.

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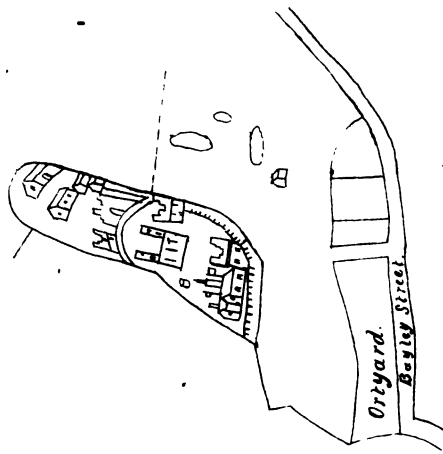


100 200 300 500 feet

Survey 1853



Note of position & State of Buildings in 1592.



Orryad. Bayley Street

Survey 1592.

# HEDINGHAM CASTLE.



arrangement modern architects might advantageously study in these early buildings.

I trust I may be pardoned for dwelling so long on this part of my subject; but the error of mistaking the "Great Tower" for the "Castle" in these remains of the Norman era is so common and deep-rooted, that I conceived it best to state, somewhat at length, a part, at least, of the evidence to the contrary which has come to my notice in the course of my investigations.

The great hall, gallery, and chamber where Queen Isabella entertained her son and his Court, are, as I before said, entirely gone, as are all the lodgings and other conveniences of that period. They might have stood in the space south-east of the Great Tower, for they must have covered some considerable space. There can be no great violence to archæological correctness in concluding the hall, gallery, and chamber, so out of repair in Henry the Seventh's time,\* and in Henry the Eighth's time † in decay, in "covering, planchering, windows, and walling about the same," to have been those of Queen Isabella.

This Castle, like many of our Norman ones, must have been suffered to fall to decay and ruin at a very early period; for it will be seen that about the 22nd Edward IV. it was reported that there was never a house in the Castle able to keep out the rain-water, wind, nor snow. ‡

In the survey of the 19th Henry VII. § before referred to, and which I found at the Carlton Ride Office, the porter's lodge, the constable's lodging, Nightingale tower, the hall, the great chamber, the chapel, the gallery between the hall and chamber, the kitchen, buttery, and pantry are stated to be under reparation. It will be particularly observed that these are referred to as separate and distinct "houses:" it is said, that the "said houses should be finished, and there is

\* Appendix D.

† Appendix E.

‡ Appendix C.

§ Appendix D.

tile, brick and timber sufficient, if other houses within the castle be taken down." From this document, too, we learn that the "Great Tower" was covered with tile, and had great gutters of lead about it, and it was then a matter for consideration whether the roof should be taken off it or not. The walls at that time were in danger of falling if they were "not amendyd."

In the 34th Henry VIII., a survey was made and returned to the Court of General Surveyors (as it was called) of the state of this Castle. I have extracted it nearly at length from the original, which I was fortunate enough to meet with at the Record Office at Carlton Ride, amongst the "Augmentation Office" Papers;\* there is a copy of it in a MS. volume, formerly Anstis's, at the British Museum. At the time it was made, the buildings had been sadly neglected, and were "in great ruin and decay:" of the Great Tower, nothing was left but the main walls; the "Old Hall" too was in a bad state; the tower by the gate-house, the gates, the bridge, the dungeon, and the outer walls, all in a like condition. Sir Christopher Jenny (whose name as a constable of this castle is recovered by this record) had then lately erected a kitchen, larder-house, chapel, and other houses necessary, with a long stable. His decease had taken place shortly prior to this survey. The fragments of walls, south of the Great Tower, are of his time, and are probably part of these buildings. There was "a certain ground near unto the castle, ditched round about with a great old ditch, called the Constabulary," where the constable had established a "brede of coneyes," and had newly raised part of the ditch for the advantage of the same coneyes. (F. in plan.) This document contains other valuable information touching the extent and condition of the chase and the customs concerning it, and concludes with a melancholy account of the decay of the Deer Park.

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\* Appendix E.

In the 31st Elizabeth,\* Stephen Bull, the warrener, had so increased the "brede of coneys," that they bid fair to annihilate the castle: the banks were decayed and the walls in part, and the rest in danger of falling. The viewers stated at that time, that for spear and shield, for which it was originally erected, it might with considerable repairs be maintained; luckily they did not consider it worth pulling down, as the materials would produce so little.

I have not noticed all the matters mentioned in these records, having chiefly confined myself to those portions referring to the castle works; but there will be found in them many interesting particulars, about the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the game, the chase, and warren: the account of the state of the mills of Rising, about the 22nd Edward IV., is very curious and minute, and will well repay perusal.†

After the falling of the walls, the banks of the circular work would seem to have given way, so that the whole of the area within it was, until the late Col. Howard's time, buried several feet deep. He removed many thousand loads of earth, and levelled the area for some distance about the Great Tower to the base-line of that building, and by this means, and his judicious repairs to that structure, he has made it capable of standing for centuries. The bank had evidently been giving way so early as Sir Christopher Jenny's time, for we find a brick wall of that date extending from the constable's lodgings to the chapel, and again from the chapel to the gate-house, and from the gate-house southward, evidently for the purpose of resisting the pressure of the soil of the earthwork inwards.

During the removal of the earth by Colonel Howard, the remains of a building were unburied to the north of the Great Tower and very near the earthwork; indeed so near that several acute persons who then examined them were

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\* Appendix F.

† Appendix C.

inclined to believe that the earthwork had been raised over them. Thence arose an idea that the building was of Saxon origin; and having been once broached, a number of small facts were readily found to confirm it. The interior only was cleared, and here, the cement having fallen from the walls, the masonry was pronounced so rude as to be unworthy Norman masons: the apse, too, now-a-days taken for a positive Norman feature, was then held to confirm its Saxon character. The small windows in the chancel, although evidently formed to contain glass, were conjectured to be outwardly splayed; another Saxon feature. The floor of the building had been destroyed, but digging down they found a projection of some eighteen inches of masonry round it: this was another "peculiar" feature, and therefore Saxon. A square piece of masonry remained about midway between the north and south doors; this was found to correspond in dimensions with the base of the Norman font in the church, and therefore they had proof positive that the font now in the church was Saxon, and removed from this earlier church. The entrance to the chancel was narrowed to about three feet: another singular point, and therefore marking Saxon work. Some herring-bone brickwork by the south door assisted in establishing this great fact.

What a body of evidence, if substantial and true, we have here to contend with! Rash as it appeared to many, I yet ventured, at the meeting in 1849, to dissent from these conclusions.

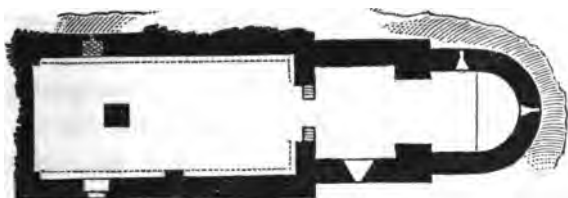
The apse, however, could hardly be considered a "Saxon" feature; indeed, there is no building attributed to the Saxon period with one, whilst most of our Norman churches possess it. The groundwork of the whole theory was the supposed fact of the earthwork having been made over it, and its having remained buried up until Colonel Howard's fortunate discovery of it. This turned out to be untrue. Kirkpatrick, a Norwich antiquary, in his *Notes on Norwich Castle*, made



about 1745, and which have been privately printed by Mr. Hudson Gurney, speaks of it as existing in his time and unburied. Speaking of a chapel of St. Nicholas in Norwich Castle, he says, "This Chapel I take to have stood on the *north side* of the Castle, and that the house where now is the room for the Grand Jury, &c. is the same which was the said Chapel. The position of the building, lying in length from east to west, and the buttresses, like those of a church, still remaining at the west end of it, also the *situation of the decayed Chapel now remaining at Rising Castle, and much at the same distance from it* (that is from the Great Tower), are inducements for me to think that this was the Chapel of St. Nicholas."

Nothing in the shape of conjecture can affect such evidence as this. Here we have the positive fact stated, that in 1745, a decayed chapel existed unburied northward of the Great Tower, at some distance from it; for the position of the old Grand Jury-room at Norwich is well known, and this was about the same distance from the "Castle," or Great Tower, as the chapel at Rising.

Two important items in the theory were therefore quickly disposed of; but in 1851 I had, through the kindness of Mrs. Howard, an opportunity of more minutely investigating the building. I subjoin a plan from actual measurement.



The earth was cleared from the outside of the north wall of the chancel, and the trench continued round the east end. The outer surface had been faced with strong cement, which

remained very perfect. The windows were not outwardly splayed, and there could be no doubt that they once held glass: more of the Saxon indications were thus disposed of. The sand and earth were mixed with fragments of brick and tile, and a broken pie-dish of suspiciously modern appearance was found at a considerable depth. Unluckily we had not made the trench of a sufficient width at the surface, for when within two or three feet of the base of the building, a mass of small loose stones was encountered, the removal of which would have rendered the trench unsafe for the workmen to remain in it, and we were therefore compelled to give up further proceedings within it. We, however, having cleared the north doorway, and excavated for some feet beyond it, were enabled to find the original surface of the soil on the north side of the building level with the step of the door, and perceptibly rising the further the excavation was extended: here again, the immense mass of superincumbent earth prevented further progress.

Lord Templeton, who kindly gave me his aid in my examination, detected the presence of the cement between the original wall at the entrance to the chancel and the additional walls (marked lighter in the plan), which narrowed the opening so considerably: here was another "Saxon feature" gone. On clearing the earth from the interior of the nave, it was found that the "herring-bone" brickwork before mentioned was placed on a mass of wall, built over, or partly over, the south entrance. A minute inspection and careful clearance of the rubbish, convinced me that this herring-bone work was the back of a fire-place of about the time of Elizabeth: it was considerably above the level of the original floor of the nave, which was probably buried to that extent at the time of its construction. Portions of cement and floor-tile still adhering to the so-called bench round the nave, proved that it was on a level with the original floor, and was nothing more than an extension of the wall at the foundations, com-

mon in buildings of early date; the foundations not being carried to any great depth, and spreading out in this way, to give additional strength and solidity to the structure.

I have now touched upon all the points supposed to be in favour of the Saxon origin of the building; and although I cannot for a moment doubt that this was the original Chapel of the Castle, there are indications of its having been destroyed at a rather early period; and it is possible that the building seen in Millicent's View of the Great Tower from the south, published early in the 18th century, and of which building but a small portion now remains above ground, may have been the new chapel built by Sir Christopher Jenny,\* rendered necessary by the dilapidation of the old one; in plan, however, it does not support such a conclusion.

Of the past and present appearance of the Gate-house, a good general idea may be obtained from Millicent's view and the view inserted at the head of this paper, taken in 1849. The greater part of it is Norman, coeval with the Great Tower, and presents no remarkable feature. The Bridge is of later date; the arch of it of the Perpendicular period, but the piers more ancient, that on the inner side having once



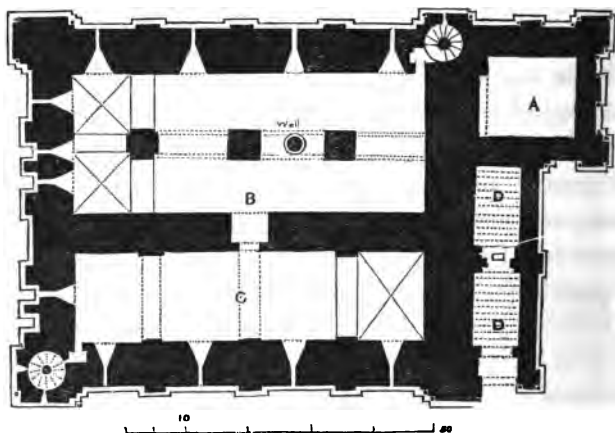
GREAT TOWER, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

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\* Appendix E.

been a central pier, and the space now built up between it and the bank was most likely crossed by a drawbridge. Millicent's view shows a lodge just within the gate, now entirely gone.

The Great Tower is a massive building, nearly square, a few feet longer from west to east than from north to south, and had a covered staircase and small entrance-tower on its eastern side. It had originally but two floors, and was divided into two unequal parts by a wall running from east to west, the larger division being to the north. Beneath is a plan of the ground floor.



GROUND PLAN, GREAT TOWER.

The only means of reaching the ground floor was by the newel staircases at the N. E. and S. W. angles of the building, and from the upper floor: an opening at the foot of the great staircase is modern. The dismal dungeon at A in the plan could only have been entered through a hole in the floor of the room above: no other means of entrance now appear: the doorway on the south side is clearly forced through in modern times.

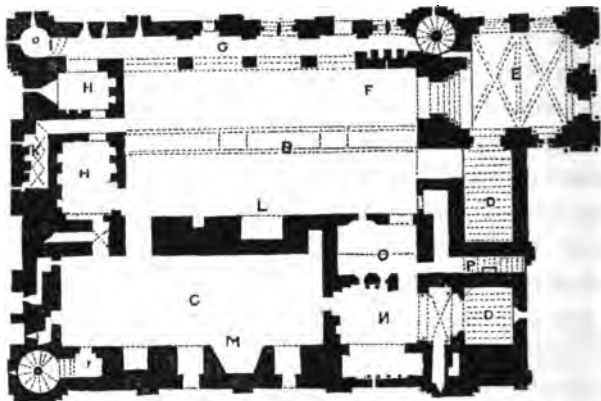
The larger division of the Great Tower (B) very much resembles in appearance the ground floor at Hedingham, called the Kitchen in the survey referred to, and which contains, like this, a well: the west end of it is double vaulted, and from the central pier three arches were thrown the length of the space, to assist in supporting the floor of the room above. Arches and floors are now gone; but the holes for the large beams and joists still remain along the wall, and the bases of the two piers for supporting the arches remain, having the well between them. The only light this place received was through four long, narrow loops on the north side and two to the west. The direct entrance to it was from the hall above, by the newel staircase at the north-east angle.

Through the massive wall between this and the smaller division of the ground floor (C) is an original doorway, with square holes for a large bar on the "Kitchen" side. This long, narrow room had a single vault at the east end, supporting the floor and walls of a small room on the upper floor, the floor of the larger room having been supported by beams and joists, which rested on two arches thrown across at about thirteen feet from each other, the corbels of which still remain in the side-walls. There was an entrance to this place—dungeon, or whatever it might be—from the newel stair at the south-west angle, and it was lighted by four long, narrow slits on the south side and one to the west.

Altogether this ground floor must have been excessively dark and ill-ventilated: even now, open to the sky as it is, one rushes upstairs, feeling somewhat relieved every step.

To reach the upper floor from the exterior, the great staircase (D) on the east side must be ascended, the doorway to which is to the south. The architectural effect of the building enclosing this staircase is very bold, appropriate, and beautiful; a fine Norman arcade above the arch of the entrance is continued along the east side, where the arches are

interlaced; and above this arcade are large, grotesque heads, each inclosed in a circular moulding.



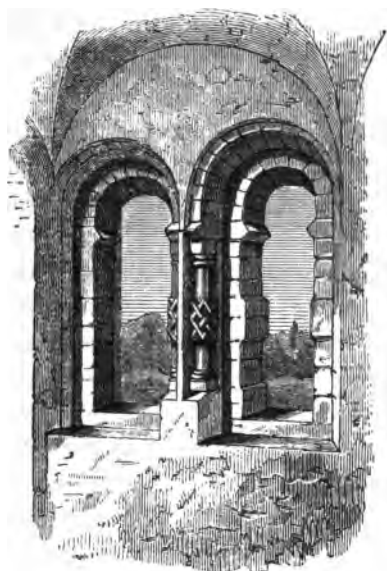
UPPER FLOOR, GREAT TOWER.

Proceeding up the flight of stairs (D), the staircase is crossed about midway by a second arch, which seems originally to have been furnished with doors: large holes for bars remain in the wall on either side: above it, a small square aperture opens into a narrow passage (P), to which I shall have again to allude.

At the top of the great staircase an arch of fine proportions opens to the room in the first floor of the entrance tower (E). This room is lighted on three sides by Norman windows, and bears a great resemblance to the room in Bigod's Tower of Norwich Castle; like that, it contains the main entrance to the hall of the Great Tower. This is now walled up, and furnished with a fire-place for the use of the family having charge of the building. In the Decorated period this room received a heavy vaulting, which rests on corbels. The vaulting supports a third floor, reached by the newel stair at the north-east angle of the Great Tower; above which is a shingle roof with ancient brick gables. The third floor,

although the vaulting beneath it is of the Decorated period, is original, for the Norman windows remain round it.

From the room E, the small door at the north-west corner leads by the newel stair to a long gallery in the thickness of the north wall, with five arches on the left, to what was once the hall, and the windows lighting the hall on the right. These windows are larger and more numerous than in the lower story, and exactly correspond in position to a range of windows in the north wall at Norwich; still little light can have penetrated to the hall, which had only one other window, placed high up in the east wall. They do not appear to have ever been glazed, but furnished with shutters within; the earliest, being the one nearest the great entrance, is here



NORTH WINDOW, GREAT TOWER.

figured. At F were a series of small shafts communicating with the ground floor. The fire-place of the hall was a low arch on the south side (L), with no flue, and the smoke must

therefore have made its way through a lantern in the roof. Many of the stone corbels for the support of the roof remain. The gallery (G) leads to a circular space (I) in the north-west angle, lighted by several windows, and having in the roof above a circular hole or vent: the Great Tower at Norwich is similarly provided. Adjoining, is a square room with small niches in the wall around it (H), between which and a rather larger room, similarly fitted (pantries), a narrow passage runs from the hall to a range of privies (K). Here again the resemblance to Norwich is preserved.

A small doorway at the south-west corner of the hall led to the gallery (C), lighted by two rather large windows on the south, with a large, late, brick fire-place and flue (M) between them. The room at Norwich is provided with a fire-place, but is much larger and has more windows. The west end of this room has similar provision in the thickness of the wall to that of the hall, above which is a curious two-light Early English window. A small door of Early English date opens from this apartment into N, originally the handsomest room in the whole building. It is, as will be seen by the plan, very small, but had a Norman arcade along the north, west, and south sides: on the east, a large, bold, Norman arch opens to a vaulted recess, with a window to the east and a narrow opening to the south, lighted by a loop, and with a small cupboard in the wall on the east side of it. This has been called, more I believe from the arched recess to the east giving it something of an ecclesiastical character than from any other circumstance, the Chapel of the Castle. I have pointed out where that chapel may have been, and I can see nothing in this apartment, except the fact of the recess being to the east, to name it the chapel, or to prevent me from concluding that it was intended for the private use of the Lord of the Castle, if he were ever driven into his last hold, the Great Tower. The similar room at Norwich has a semicircular recess in the south-east angle, and is called the Oratory,



from a rude carving of various saints made by some unfortunate prisoner. From this room a small door on the north side leads into a square, dark room (O), little more than a closet, and thence into a passage communicating with the hall by a door at the east end of it. From this passage, the narrow stair (P) before-mentioned is thrown across the great staircase to an opening immediately above a Norman buttress in the exterior wall of the staircase. For what purpose this stair was intended, it is now very difficult to conjecture: it is hardly likely to have been intended for a "Sally-port," as has been suggested, as the foot of it is at a considerable height from the ground, and immediately opposite the main gate of the Castle. The square hole in it, too, immediately over the centre of the great staircase, would have proved as dangerous a feature in a hurried retreat to friend as to foe.

There is a passage in the upper part of the east wall of the Great Tower, leading from the second floor of the entrance-tower to a door above the room N, probably to a room of similar size.

This is the entire accommodation afforded by the Great Tower; and most gloomy and dismal must this Tower have been when roofs and floors shut out the light of day.

The effect of it is massive, stern, and appropriate; and those, I trust, who have not an opportunity of referring to Hearne and Byrne's beautiful view of it, or to the illustrations of Britton, Cotman, &c., will gain a fair notion of its general design from the views inserted in this Paper.

In conclusion, I would take leave to express the gratification I feel, that this splendid relic of past times has fallen into the hands of those who so fully appreciate its beauties and its interest: care has been taken by judicious repairs to stay the ravages of time, and the constant presence of a person having charge of it, prevents those dilapidations so frequently occurring to such ruins from mere wantonness and love of mischief.

There is, therefore, little doubt that many generations may yet appreciate its beauties, and study amongst its walls the history of those early days they recall and illustrate.

“Thou, grey magician, with thy potent wand,  
Evok'st the shades of the illustrious dead !  
The mists dissolve—uprise the slumbering years—  
On come the knightly riders cap-a-pie—  
The herald calls—hark, to the clash of spears !  
To Beauty's Queen each hero bends the knee ;  
Dreams of the past, how exquisite ye be—  
Offspring of heavenly faith and rare antiquity !”



GREAT TOWER, FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

## APPENDIX.

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### A.

#### *21st Edward III. Rysyng Castell.*

M<sup>d</sup>. That wey be taken for the Jurisdic<sup>co</sup>n, for ther be <sup>d</sup>vers <sup>p</sup>rsone dede this yere w<sup>t</sup> in Rysyng whose testaments be not pved nor admynyst<sup>r</sup>con comytted. Wherfor the dedis will is not <sup>p</sup>formed nor non thyng don for them, &c.

It<sup>m</sup>. That remedy be had for the significavit which my Lord of Norwich hath ayenst Rauf Salt<sup>r</sup> my lords fermo<sup>r</sup>.

It<sup>m</sup>. To understonde what shal be don with the grete berne at Rysyng, which is in grete decaye & is not occupied, and the repara<sup>co</sup>n of it wold coste x m<sup>rc</sup> or mor, &c.

It<sup>m</sup>. The Kepare of the Chace take ev<sup>y</sup> yere wood w<sup>t</sup>oute assignement: sum yere xx loods, & sumtyme were wont to take nowt.

It<sup>m</sup>. That my Lords game may be bett<sup>r</sup> kepte & cherisshed: for the Kepares suffre ev<sup>y</sup> man to hunte there that will yeve them xx<sup>d</sup> or xl<sup>d</sup>, and so hath be slayn ther this yer xx dere, and at this tyme y<sup>r</sup> w<sup>s</sup> not passed iiij<sup>xx</sup> dere of all ma<sup>n</sup> sorts, &c.

It<sup>m</sup>. That y<sup>e</sup> fermo<sup>r</sup> Rauf Salt<sup>r</sup> be compelled to store the Wareyn, whiche he hath w<sup>t</sup> the ferme, and maken in as good plight as it was whan he entered into it; for sum tyme it was laten by yere for xx<sup>li</sup>, and now there is as much Wermyn in as Conyes, &c.\*

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\* Augmentation Office Papers, Carlton Ride.

## B.

*(Paper without date.)*

To the Right honorable and discret lords of my lorde princes cowncell, Humbly shewen unto yo<sup>r</sup> most noble wisdom, the ten<sup>ts</sup> & inhabitaunts of my lord princes . . . . of Rysyng in the Counte of Norf.: That wher they and all their auncestors w<sup>o</sup>ute tyme of mynde . . . . exempt from all Byshops Jurisdiction; And the pson of Rysyng Castell for the tyme beyng . . . . w<sup>o</sup>ute interrupcion to be Official and correcto<sup>r</sup>, and to keepe Courte and Chapetirs w<sup>i</sup>n the same lordship to corect all mañ of offences comytted w<sup>i</sup>n the said lordship in like mañ and forme as the Bishope do owte of the same. It is so now that oñ S<sup>r</sup> Richard Cranworth is pson of . . . . and is so neglig . . . . that he hath div<sup>s</sup> times discov<sup>d</sup> the confession of us his pishoners . . . . he hath causyd grete discencon & troble amongs us, & thirfor causith us to be shreven at Lynne & other places, as shal be evidently proved before y<sup>r</sup> Lordshipps; and so thorough hys symplenesse and . . . . of conyng, & by hys suffraunce the Byshop of Norwiche hath usurped upon my Lord . . . . & distourbed his fraunchises, to the grete troble of all us my said lords tenants . . . . & *they pray him to be removed & a "discrete preste" appointed instead of him.\**

## C.

*Circa 22nd Edward IV.*

As towchyng the Vewe of the Myllys at Rysyng Castell † in Norfolk besyds Lynn. I was ther all a daye and had

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\* Augmentation Office Papers, Carlton Ride.

† On parchment, bound up in a volume of "Surveys of Priories, &c., C.c.," among the Augmentation Office Documents at Carlton Ride.

dyv̄rse agyd men of the contre w<sup>t</sup> me; as they deposed before me I certify yow<sup>r</sup> lordships as folowyth:

“Ther ys a myll called a Coggemyll whiche ys in decaye and lakkys a ston callyd a Renñ; ther ys a new ston brokyn that wyll serve for the lygger; ther lakkys coggys and reparaconys of the howse, and the streme must be stoppyd, for yt passyth besyde the wheele: yt wer pyte y<sup>t</sup> mylle shulde stonde as yt dothe, for the streme is very goode bothe Wynter and Somer, and all the contre compleynes of that mylle yt gothe not, ther x or xj townys that ys wont to be servyd at that mylle, yt was told me yt hath grownde xxx<sup>ty</sup> Combe whete in a daye and a nyght, y<sup>t</sup> is xv quart<sup>s</sup>: yt wyll coste x markys to make yt p̄fyght, and so yt shall be welle reparyd, and then it wyll gyff x m̄kes yerely. Men say they wolde take yt but for the baylye, for yt ys thowght he hath ben and ys the cause that all thes Mylles stond so in decaye, to the intent he myght take them at his prysse for hys lyve: he hade thys mylle laste in ferme, and lette yt decaye in hys hande.

The seconde Mylle on the same Water ys callyd the Potyrmyle, a walke mylle, stodde betwyx the Coggenet Mylle and the West Mylle; yt hathe ben in decaye thys xx yerys: afore yt was well occupied and callyd the best in Norfolk, and gaffe vj markes, as thys deponent swereth he knewe yt.

The thryd myll ys callyd the West Mylle, a Walk Mylle, and afore yt was a corne mylle, the best in the contre tyll the baylys tyme, whych changed yt, and ys let but for v markys, wher it is worthe be the yere vij markys.

The iiij<sup>th</sup> mylle callyd the Galle Mylle, a Fullynge Mylle, which hathe be voyde this v yeres, and in thys baylyes handes yt went to decaye, it gaff v markys: ther was felled xxx okys for the reparacons of yt; the baylye must answer for the xxx<sup>ty</sup> okys, for no p̄fyte come of them to the seyde mylle, but stondyth desolat; ther wold be gyven for yt reparyd viij markys yerely, for ther ys gret lak of Walke Myllys in the

contre: the goo viij mylle to other placys, and all the contre mivelyth that the princys myllys be no bettyr surveyed.

The v<sup>th</sup> Mylle ys callyd the corne mylle of Rysynge, standys voyd to the gret noyans of all the contre, and yt ys thowt y<sup>t</sup> the bayle ys the cause, to the entent he maye take them all at undyr pryce for his awantage and to the destrucōn of the p̃sonagys; yt was wont to go for x markys a yere, and so yt wold be takyn of many men gladly, but for drede of the bayle whiche is nut of mynde that any man shold take them.

As towchyng the reparaçons of the Castell, yt ys in such decaye that a c<sup>li</sup> wold lyttyll be sene in reparyng of yt, for ther ys nev<sup>l</sup> a howse abyll to kepe owt the reyne water, wynde, nor snowe.

And as towchyng the Jurisdiçion of the Castell in variance be twyx my lord of Norwych & the pson of Rysyng, North Wutton, and Sothe Wutton, I have written to my good lord of Chichester what I harde the agyd men in the contre and other whiche I examynynd in that be halve.

# D.

*18th to 21st Henry VII., 1503 to 1506.*

*Decas Castri de Risyng in Com. Norff.\**

Risyng.

Itm. the Castell there ys evyll repayred, and there is begon certayn Repaçons, as of the Porters Logge, the Connstabylls Logeyng, and Nyghtyngall Towre, and of the Hall, the grete Chambre, the Chapell, the galere betwene the Hall and the said Chambre, the Kechyn, botere, and pantre; all thes are soñ thyng begon & not fynshed, and ther is a bargaen

\* From a volume labelled "Surveys of Priors, &c., C.c.," among the Augmentation Office Documents at Carlton Ride.

made w<sup>t</sup> a Mason in grete for x<sup>li</sup> to make and to fynyshe all the said repaço<sup>n</sup>s in that belongeth to Masons work, and he hathe made parte of his bargayn, and hath receyved part of his money. And all the Repaço<sup>n</sup>s don uppon the said houses ar but lost except they be fynyshed, and there is tyle, breke, & tymbr metly for the fynyshynge of the said repaço<sup>n</sup>s, soo that other houses be taken downe within the said Castell as they a<sup>r</sup> appoynted, the whiche doo noo good as they stond.

Itm̃. The greate Square Towre within the said Castell ys to be loked uppon, whether yt is bett<sup>r</sup> to take downe the Roof & sell yt away or not: it is cov<sup>d</sup> with tyle, and ther are Grete Gutters of lede abowt the same.

Itm̃. The Stabyll w<sup>t</sup> in the said Castell must be mended as in wallyng and tylyng.

Itm̃. The Walles aboute the Castell are evyll repayred & are evyll crased, and yf they be not amendyd they will fall downe. And it ys seyed that S<sup>r</sup> Roger le Strange & the heirs of S<sup>r</sup> Henry Heydon\* shuld make & mend certayn cornells unto the said Castle by the tenure of ther lond, and ther must be taken distres for noon payment of theire Re-leves, &c.

Itm̃. Yt ys supposed that xl<sup>li</sup> will goo nere to fynyshe all the Repaço<sup>n</sup>s w<sup>t</sup>in the Castle with that stuff that ys rydey there. And so for these Repaço<sup>n</sup>s ther must be made a wod sale, &c.

Itm̃. Ther is a new fullyng mylne in hand to make ther with ij stokkes, and yt ys fast by grete for x m̃rc to fynyshe all the Tymber Warke.

Itm̃. Ther may be mad Wodsale in d<sup>v</sup>ise places, as well w<sup>t</sup>in the Chace as without, as moche money as will fynyshe the werke that now is begon, the whiche will coste xl<sup>li</sup> at the lest.

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\* In 1503 Sir H. Heydon died; and Sir R. Le Strange in 1506.

## E.

34th Henry VIII.

*Letters Patent, directed to Roger Townshend, Knight, William Fermor, Knight, Henry Bedingfield, Nicholas Le Strange, John Derrick, William Yelverton, and John Call, to inquire and examine on oath as to all and singular Articles, Causes, and Matters, in a Schedule to the same Letters Patent annexed, and return the same into the Court of General Survey of Crown Lands.\**

*Schedule containing* "Interrogatories to be ministered to certain persons concerning the viewing of the Kings Castell & Chace of Rysynge in the Countie of Norfolk, and other things concerninge the same." †

"In most humble wise wee, Sir Roger Townshend, Knight, Sir William Fermor, Knight, & John Call, Squyer, authorised by the Kings most Royall Maiesties Ires patent, among other, to examyn certain Articles to the same Ires patent annexed concerning the viewing of his highness Castle & Chase of Rysyng in the Countie of Norff., and other things concerninge the same, doe certify accordinge to the saide Ires patent into his maiesties High Court at Westminster of generall survey of his highness lands, That wee, the saide Commissioners, w<sup>th</sup> others did there assemble upon the Tuesday next after Corpus Xpi day last past; And there charged an Inquest according to our precept to the Sheriff of the saide sheere directed, w<sup>ch</sup> precept, the return thereof, & the presentment of the same inquest unto the saide letters patent annexed, wee under oure hands & seals certifye unto the

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\* "Surveys of Priories, &c., C.c.," before referred to.

† As these interrogatories are repeated almost verbatim in the replies of the Commissioners, I have thought it unnecessary to print them.



Kings our So<sup>v</sup>aigne Lords saide Courte of Generall Surveyors by these presents, dated the thirtie daye of maye in the five and thirtie yeare of the raigne of our said So<sup>v</sup>aigne lorde Henrie the eight, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faithe, And in earthe supreme hed of the Church of England & Ireland."

[*Precept to the Sheriff.*]

[*Sheriff's Return of Jury, with note of selection and swearing of Twelve.*]

PRESENTMENT.

As touchinge the first Article, the Castell of Rysynge & dyvers houses and walls within and aboute the same bene at this daye in greate ruin and decaye.

First, wee find by this oure veredite that there is an olde greate towre or loggyng is in soe greate decaye, that it passeth oure knowledge to exteine the charges to builden; for all the buildings within it and over it is cleane wasted awaye, except the mayne walles.

Alsoe there is one olde loggyng called the olde halle is in decaye, as well in Coverynge, Plancheringe, Wyndowes, as Wallyng aboute the same, as wee thinke will coste to make it sufficiently —.

Also there is an olde towre by the Gate-house, the Gates and the Brigge, is in so greate decaye that wee think by our Judgments it will cost to make it sufficiently, x<sup>li</sup>.

Also wee saye there is an olde howse in decaye, called the dungyn, to make it sufficiently, v<sup>li</sup>.

Alsoe wee saye by this oure veredite that the outwarde Walles of the Castell be soe greatly in decaye, that wee thinke to repaire them sufficiently it will cost c<sup>li</sup>.

Alsoe there is a newe Loggyng, with a Kitchine, Larder-house, Chappell, and other houses necessary, with a long

stable, have beene late tyme newe repaired in coveringe, glaseinge, and makeinge certeyne petiçons w<sup>in</sup> the same newe loggyngs, bene sufficiently repaired by S<sup>r</sup> Christopher Jenne deceased.

As touchinge the Second Article, howe much money the saide S<sup>r</sup> Christopher Jenne received of the Kings highnes, or of any of his officers, towarde the buildinge of the seide newe loggyngs or other howses before rehersed of, for that intent there: But wee saye that this is to us unbeknownen whether he received any money of the Kings highnes or of any of his officers towarde the makeinge of the said repacons or not.

As touchinge the third Article, what and howe many utensills, other stuffs, and goodes were and remayned in the saide Castell at such time as the saide S<sup>r</sup> Christopher Jenne was made Constable, the whiche came into his Custody; and howe much thereof was there remayninge at the time of his deathe, and where they nowe bene, and in what estate or condiçon: wee saye uppon oure oathes that wee knowe not that S<sup>r</sup> Christopher Jenne nor noe other person to his use reserved any suche utensylles and other thinges before rehersed, at the time of his entre; nor noe maner of things remayned w<sup>in</sup> the saide Castell at the time of his deathe.

As touchinge the iiij<sup>th</sup> Article, howe farre the Constableness of the saide Castell extend, and what advantages, comodities, preheminences, and doe thereunto belong: first wee saye there is a certaine grounde called the Constabulery, neare unto the Castell, which is diked rounde aboute w<sup>th</sup> a greate olde dicke, and parte of the same dicke lately new raysed, wherein is a brede of Conyes, the p<sup>ft</sup> of the same Conyes pteyne onely to the Constables Office. Alsoe wee saye that the Keeper of the Chase have had by the space of

xxx yeres x or xij nete Beastes going there, but in the right of what office we cannot tell. And wee saye there is a certeyne Close called the Constables Close, and a certeyne Carre called the Constables Carre, pteyning to the Constables Office. Alsoe we saye that what and howe many other Comodities or other thngs pteyne to the Constablesheipp Office we cannott tell; for to our knowledge that all the . . . . . and offices, except the Balywicke, have remayned for the most parte in one mans hands

As touchinge the v<sup>th</sup> Article, howe farre the Chase con- teyneth, and what things, comodities, advantages, the Master of the Game or Ranger therein ought to have or hath used to have: First wee saye that the saide Chase extendeth from Bawsey Brigge to Gaywoode Brigge; from Gaywoode Brigge to the See; from thence to Babingley Brigge; from thence to Hillington Brigge; from thence to Brudgate lane; from thence to Bonys Brigge; from thence to the saide Bawsey Brigge. Alsoe we saye that the Master of the Game or Ranger have yearly many yeares used to make a bothe of the Armes and boughes of Oakes atte the feaste of Penticost, by estimaçon to the number of lx loades of woode, to his or their uses.

Alsoe wee saye that the Master of the Game of the said Chase have of long tyme the pawnege, browsynge wood, seare trees, and wyndfalles to their owne use.

As touchinge the vj<sup>th</sup> and last Article, how many deere were in the saide Chase when the saide S<sup>r</sup> Christopher Jenne was made Master of the Game or Ranger thereof: wee saye uppon oure oathes, as far as wee can knowe and can enquire, there was viewed at the time of his entree xvij skore of all sortes and kindes of deere. Also wee saye there was left at the daie of his deathe xvij skore; whereof, since the time of his deathe unto this daie, there is deade in povertie and for

lack of meate to ye number of vj skore. And as wee can viewe at this daie, there remayneth xl deere of anteler and x skore Rascalls.

By me, GEEFFREY COBBE, &c.

[Jury.]

*Endorsed:* "Rysynge Castle

"Et Chac.

"& Comit<sup>e</sup> Arundell."

F.

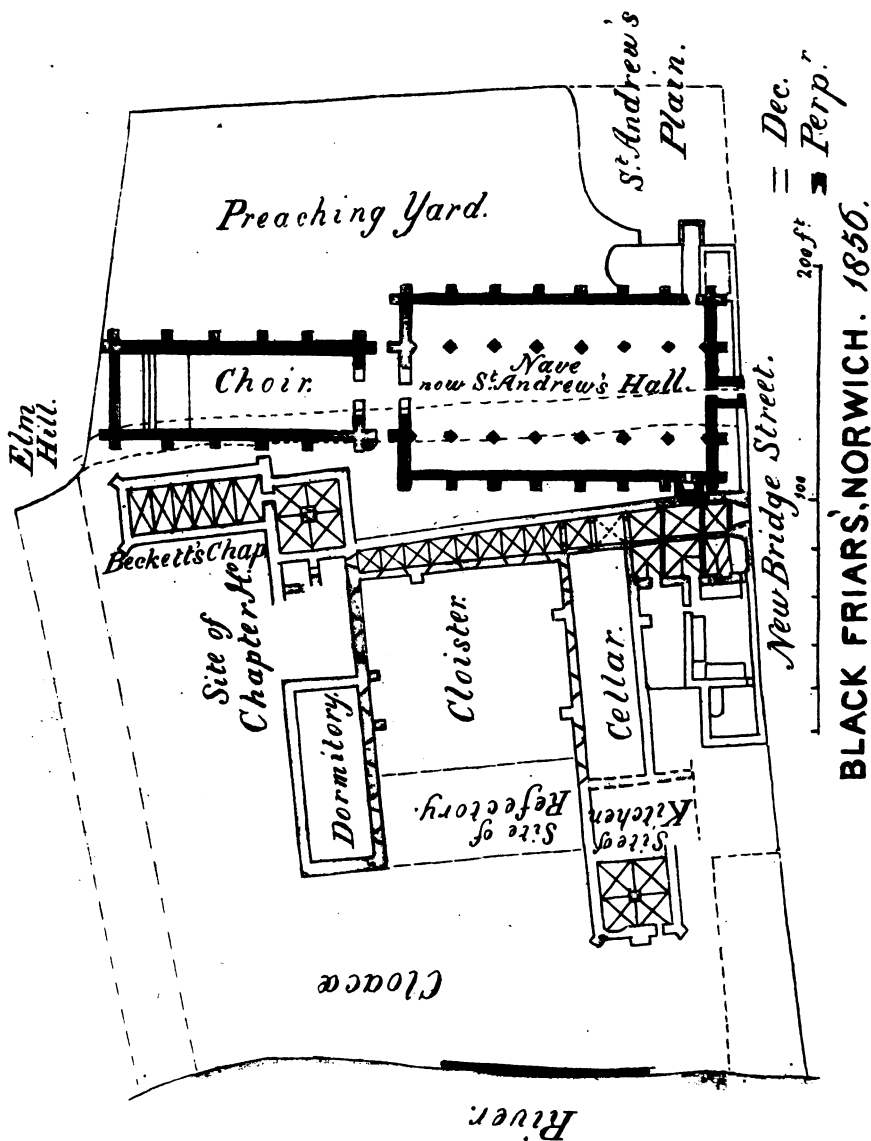
*About 31st Elizabeth.*

*Extract from a "Survey of D. of Norff. & E. of Arundel's possessions in Norff., Suff., Cambridge, & Essex." P. 159, b.*

That they fynde, that by encrease of Conies suffered by the Wariner, Stephen Bull, to breed in the castell ditches and bancks of the Castell in Rising, the same bancks are decayed & the Walls are alreadye in part & the rest in danger of overthrowing, if the Conyes shall so continue; and that the saide Bank and ditches are no parcell of the Warren; and that also the Constablerie belonging unto the Castell is noe pte of the Warren of Rising, nor hath been used as Warren but of late, and that the Burrough of Castell Rising and the closes belonging and adjoining therunto are also noe pt of the said Warren.

That the Castell was erected at the first but for speare and shield, and for that force it may be maynteyned if it please her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to be at the charge; w<sup>ch</sup> charge by estimaçon will cost M<sup>i</sup> M<sup>i</sup> li to repaire the same againe. And further, if the same Castle should be taken down and sold for benefitt, it is so greatlie decayed as the same will not yeld above one Hundred markes.

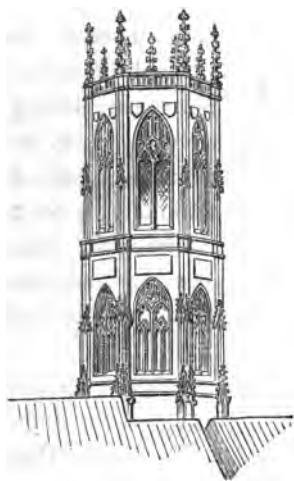




# The Convent of Black Friars,

NORWICH.

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THE noble Hall in St. Andrew's, Norwich, where, in times of "corporate corruption," the Mayor feasted his fellow-citizens and a large number of the leading men of the county on the Guild-day, and where for many years the Triennial Musical Festivals have been held, is very generally known to be the nave of an ancient conventual church of Black Friars, of which, what is now called the Dutch Church, at the east end, was the choir. Comparatively few persons know that

very large remains of other parts of the convent still exist between the hall and the river. The site having been enclosed and used as a workhouse from an early period in the present century, it is but rarely visited by persons taking an interest in the study of antiquities.

The plan on the opposite page will show the extent of these remains; a glance at it will convince an archæologist that they are of uncommon interest.

The convent of the Black Friars was one of the five large conventual establishments which existed in Norwich in the middle ages. For more than two hundred years after the Conquest the Cathedral Priory was the only monastery of any extent. During that period, however, the various orders of Friars had been springing into existence under the auspices of successive popes, and about the middle of the thirteenth century one or two of the smaller orders, those of the Sack or Penance of Jesus Christ and the Friars of our Lady, established themselves in Norwich. Of the four principal orders, the Dominicans, or Black Friars, and the Franciscan, or Grey Friars, located themselves in the city in 1226; the Carmelites, or White Friars, in 1256; and the Augustine Friars about 1290. The smaller orders were dissolved in 1307, but these four orders rose to great wealth and influence; the rich taxed themselves heavily for their maintenance during their lives, and their families taxed themselves heavily to provide a resting-place for their bodies within their sacred enclosures after their death; the poor contributed in even larger proportion from their earnings, and laboured for them besides; scarcely a will was made for many a mile round the city which did not contain a bequest to the four orders of Friars in Norwich.

The site of the first house of the Dominicans was on the other side of the river, and included a church of St. John the Evangelist and the large space between the Golden Dog Lane, north; Colegate Street, south; Snailgate, now Calvert Street, west; and Magdalen Street, east. They subsequently acquired additional ground reaching from Colegate Street to the river.

Whether that position was not a sufficiently central one, or for what other reason does not appear, but in 1307 they obtained a grant of the house of the dissolved Friars of the Sack, and there they were enabled to settle themselves in 1309. Blomefield states this house to have been opposite the



steeple of St. Peter's Hungate church, which would be on the ground marked as the "Preaching Yard" in the plan, and the southernmost portion of the Black Friars precinct. He further says that the church of the Black Friars was built on the site of the church of the Sack Friars, which was dedicated to the Virgin. If he were correct, the manner in which the Black Friars arranged their buildings would be inexplicable, but he is not; and the identification of the exact spot occupied by the house of the Sack Friars furnishes a clue to the cause of the very remarkable arrangement shown by the plan. Kirkpatrick tells us, and tells us truly, that the site of that house was on the north side of the precinct, and a deed given by Blomefield as well as by him establishes the fact. Curiously enough they both blunder in important points in their citation of this document. Kirkpatrick inserts it under date 1285, but adds among the witnesses' names "P. de Pagrave, Roger de Tuddenham, Walter Knot, and William de Refham, then Bailiffs of Norwich:" these parties were bailiffs in 1258, the date given by Blomefield, and he must, therefore, be right in that particular. Kirkpatrick, however, is right, and Blomefield wrong, in the description of the premises conveyed by the deed. By this deed, in 1258, John de Vaux, son of Oliver de Vaux, granted to the Sack Friars one messuage, with appurtenances, lying between the domicile of the said Friars, east; the king's way at Newbrigg and the tenement and quay of William But, west; one head abutting on the tenements of the same Friars, south; and the other head on the king's river, north.\* This acquisition would be at the north-west corner of the ground shown on the plan. On the east side a long strip of land will be observed between dotted lines. This was acquired by the Sack Friars from William de Gissing, to whom it was conveyed in 1272, by a deed now in the Muniment Room at the

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\* Kirkpatrick's *Religious Orders*, p. 101. Blomefield, Vol. IV., p. 334.

Guildhall, from Geoffrey de Mortimer of Attleburgh, by the following description: "A house and land in St. Peter's Hungate, between the tenement of Aveline de Broke, east; the domicile of the Sack Friars, west; the south head lying next the king's way, and the north head on the river." Another long strip to the east of it was acquired in 1311 by the Black Friars from Sarah the widow of Ralph the Fishmonger, and the deed conveying it, also at the Guildhall, describes it as "formerly of Aveline de Broke;" and the west side of it abutting on the Convent of the Black Friars, some time of the Sack Friars.

From the above indisputable evidence there can, therefore, be no question that Blomefield is wrong, and that the original convent of the Sack Friars stood between the hall and the river.

Having acquired the site of the Sack Friars and all the land west of it to New Bridge Street, the Black Friars thereon constructed their new house, to which they removed, as I have said, in 1309. Such of the buildings then erected as now exist are colored green on the plan; but although they acquired much of the land south of the site within a few years after this time, I have ascertained that they were unable to extend their buildings in that direction for nearly forty years. Nearly the whole of the land afterwards occupied by the Preaching-yard and the noble conventual church was, in the year 1309, occupied by houses and cottages, with a lane twelve feet wide running north and south between them and the convent. The exact course of this lane is marked by dotted lines on the plan, it commenced near the present site of the west door of the hall and ran in a nearly straight line to Elm Hill. The deeds in the Guildhall, and the proceedings which arose in consequence of the endeavours of the Friars to close this lane and add the land on the other side to their site, enabled me to ascertain almost to a foot the position of this lane and the adjoining properties. The house and premises

of Thomas de Booton, at the corner of St. Andrew's and New Bridge Street, acquired in 1312, we learn from the pleadings, were 131 feet from north to south, and 31 feet from east to west. The next house, Silvester Sparrow's, acquired in 1310, was 131 feet from north to south, and 60 feet from east to west.\* After this they purchased Roger Goding's and John But's houses and some half dozen others. The house of Adam de Blickling stood, in 1318, on the land now occupied by the chancel of the Dutch church, formerly the choir of the conventual church: it was at that time confirmed to the Friars by his son. Although they had acquired thus early so much of the property south of the lane, that offered an obstacle to their progress of no common magnitude, it brought the citizens down upon them, who opposed most stoutly the closing of it and the extension of their site, and it was not until 1345,† after all the legal obstructions the acute lawyers of the corporation could devise had at length been overcome, that they were able to close the lane and add the property they had purchased to their precinct: they did not obtain all the land for their Preaching-yard until the beginning of the fifteenth century, particularly at the south-east corner, the point Biomefield names as the original site of the Sack Friars, their first acquisition.

Hence it follows that their buildings, for the first five-and-thirty years of their residence on the new site, must have

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\* The following are the descriptions of these two properties in the conveyances:—

4th Edward II. Silvester Sparwe to Prior and Convent, &c., a messuage and appurtenances between the messuage of Thomas de Boton, west; Roger Goding, east; King's Way, south; and a Common Lane, north.

6th Edward II. Thomas de Boton and Margaret his wife to Prior, &c., messuage, &c., between tenement late of Silvester Sparwe, east, and the King's Way on every other part.

† There was an Inquisition ad quod Damnum, 19th Edward III., and shortly afterward the King granted the Friars a charter to enclose the lane and lands, containing altogether 248 feet in length and 146 feet in breadth.

been north of the lane, and this helps us to an explanation of the difference in the orientation of the church and convent. The buildings first erected ran up to the lane, and are all of the Decorated period; and the building now known as Becket's Chapel, I believe to be the crypt of their first church, built on the site of the church of the Sack Friars. Probably between 1345 and 1350 they built a finer church on the site of the present one; but in 1413 an accidental fire so materially damaged the convent as to oblige them to return to their old house beyond the water, where they remained until 1449, when another fire burnt them out there, and they again returned to St. Andrew's parish. The church now standing must have been built at that time, for, with the few exceptions I shall notice, and which look like a using-up of old materials, the whole of the church must have been built between 1440 and 1470. I am aware I am again contradicting Blomefield, who says that Sir Thomas de Erpingham built the church, his ground for saying so being that the arms of Erpingham are between each of the clerestory windows on the outside, and on painted glass in those windows, together with the arms of his executors and others of his family and friends: he says this, forgetting that Sir Thomas's son, Robert de Erpingham, was a Friar of this house. The latter died about 1445, and very probably applied the Erpingham property in aid of the funds for the erection of the church of his convent.

The clerestory, on which the arms occur so frequently, is Late Perpendicular work, and cannot have been built before 1450, if so early; and the brethren may well have commemorated so excellent a brother in the manner stated. The beautiful south door of St. Andrew's Hall, which is certainly as early as the clerestory, has the arms of John Paston, Esq., who, in 1444, when his father died, was 23 years of age, and married Margaret daughter and heir of John de Mauteby, who bore *az. a cross or*.

No documents exist from which we can ascertain the num-



SOUTH DOOR OF ST. ANDREW'S HALL.

ber of the brethren, and the surrender deed is not among the Augmentation Office Papers. The buildings devoted to hospitality must have been large; for here Isabella, the Queen of Edward IV., and her daughters and suite, were lodged when she visited the city in 1470.\* There was a school-house and a fine library attached to the convent.†

Of the part taken by the last prior of this house in the controversies immediately preceding the dissolution, a curious

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\* *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. V., p. 32.

† Kirkpatrick, pp. 39, 40.

piece of evidence came to my hands in a search for Inventories among the Augmentation Office Papers. He was a Norwich man, one of the family of Briggs, of which many memorials exist in St. Peter Mancroft church. He preached a sermon at St. Leonard's priory on Ascension Eve, 1535, and in the middle of the bidding prayer introduced an argument in support of the king's right to be regarded as Head of the Church, which was considered of sufficient importance to be reported to the king.

"In his p<sup>re</sup>io<sup>r</sup> he saide, Ye shall pray for o<sup>r</sup> Soveraine lorde king Harry of y<sup>e</sup> chirch of Englonde chefe hede, so called. Here riseth a question. May the king be hede of y<sup>e</sup> chirch? To this growe too answers. Some say yea, and some say nay. They that say nay have scripture y<sup>t</sup> teacheth us Christ to be o<sup>r</sup> hede of the chirch, as, "et ipsū dedit caput sup omnē ecclesiā, quæ est corpus illius," *Ephe.* 1; and, "vir est caput mulieris, sicut Christ<sup>9</sup> est caput ecclesiæ," *Ephe.* 5; and this also, "et ipse est caput corporis ecclesiæ," *Coloss.* 1. These iij places he englisshed and saide y<sup>t</sup> an erthly man, namely a temporall mañ, may not be hede of y<sup>e</sup> chirch. Not withstanding, seing y<sup>t</sup> spirituall men have bodies y<sup>t</sup> must be clothed and have bodely sustinance, the king is their hede in temporalibus, and protecto<sup>r</sup> and defendar of y<sup>e</sup> same. But y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> king shuld be hede in ministring of Sacrament<sup>z</sup>, or in incensing, or such othere, I denie and will in ony place of y<sup>e</sup> world. And here he sett out y<sup>e</sup> historie of king Ozias y<sup>t</sup> was striken w<sup>th</sup> lepre, for attempting y<sup>e</sup> office of y<sup>e</sup> preist, 2 *Paral.* 26. He brought in also this place, "Et ipse dedit quosdam quidē ap̄los, quosdā prophetas," etç., *Ephe.* 4; as though y<sup>t</sup> these make y<sup>e</sup> chirch, or were y<sup>e</sup> chefe partes of it, and not y<sup>e</sup> king. But some men will marvaill whi I chaunge my tale, and say now y<sup>t</sup> the bisshop of Rome is not o<sup>r</sup> hede. To y<sup>is</sup> I answer the bisshop of Rome by y<sup>e</sup> scripture of god hath no more po<sup>r</sup> then y<sup>e</sup> bisshop of Ely. How be it Peter

in many thinges semed to have an higher authorite then the other as in chosing of Matthie. How cam y<sup>e</sup> bisshop of Rome by this power, by mānes ordinance, by ge<sup>n</sup>hall counsell<sup>e</sup> and by y<sup>e</sup> graunt of the hole ocean. And whether other contreis have taken this from him or no, I can not tell, but this I know well y<sup>t</sup> the hole counsell of y<sup>is</sup> realme hath taken this authorite from him. Here some will say, sir, ye seme to speake against yo<sup>r</sup> silf, seing y<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> order was confirmed by the bisshop of Rome. To this I say, y<sup>t</sup> so long as y<sup>e</sup> bisshop of Rome was in authorite, the fathers Benet, Dominick and Francis did well in going to him to have their rules approved. I shall putt you a familiar exampill, though it be grosse. Father Penyman and other too y<sup>t</sup> he rehersed, when they were priours here, men did well tobeie them, but after y<sup>t</sup> such had taken their authorite from them as might well enough, now no man oweth obedience unto them.

“Per me Richardū Hore.”

*Endorsed:* Richard Hoore.

The Friar's zeal did not go unrewarded: he was made vicar of Bressingham in 1539; but of this he was deprived by Mary in 1554, it is said for being a married priest; if such were the cause, it is strange that he retained the vicarage of Kenninghall, to which she herself had presented him in 1547, and in 1559 he was made vicar of Wymondham.

At the dissolution, by the strenuous exertions of Augustine Steward, one of the city aldermen, and others, the site was obtained for the city: the nave of the church converted into a hall for civic purposes, the choir made a chapel for the citizens, and such of the other buildings as could be so applied were made granaries for a stock of corn for the city in times of scarcity.

Since that time many changes have taken place: for a long time the feasts of the various guilds were held in the hall, and a large kitchen was built on the site of the Strangers' Hall;

at one period the city assizes were held therein, and it was at the beginning of the present century used as a corn exchange. To no purpose was it ever more properly applied than to our Triennial Musical Festivals, to which I trust we may long see it appropriated. When the Dutch settled in the city the choir was granted to them for a chapel, and a sermon in Dutch is still preached once every year to the representatives of the grantees, but it is commonly used as a chapel for the workhouse. The other buildings, not used for granaries, were made sealing halls for the manufactures of the city, for a mint, and a variety of other purposes.

At last, in 1804, great part of the site north of the hall and church (except a part of the west side, retained for kitchens and butteries for city feasts, and a long strip on the east sold or let for building purposes) was, with much pulling about of the old remains and many unsightly additions, converted into a workhouse for the poor of Norwich. But a new workhouse is in course of construction in Heigham, and the buildings will again come into the hands of the city; it is therefore much to be desired that some plan may be devised to make the site of utility without destroying the ancient remains.

Having, as I hope, now furnished a key to the difficulties which the plan at first sight presents, I will refer to the architectural features of the several buildings in the order they present themselves on the plan, with such references to authorities as will mark the original purpose for which they were constructed, and the uses to which they have been since applied.

The conventual buildings being in this case to the north of the church, enabled the Friars to appropriate the large space on the south of it to a Preaching-yard, and it was so as early as the time of Edward III.\* After the dissolution it was "Mr. Kemp's garden"† (Mr. Kemp being the city

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\* Kirkpatrick, p. 64.

† Ibid.



chaplain); a part of it, however, was severed from the rest, and leased out in the 33rd Henry VIII., and afterwards sold to various persons and covered with houses. It was used as a burial-place for those dying of the plague in Queen Elizabeth's time.\* A part remained a garden until 1650, when it was made a green yard, and the great pulpit brought to it from the Cathedral Green-yard, and galleries constructed for the corporation.†

In 1661 the preaching here was discontinued and resumed in the Green-yard of the Cathedral. As early as 1641 it was also used as an artillery-yard, and the Artillery Company had rooms in the south porch of the hall to store their arms,‡ and it continued to be used for that purpose in Kirkpatrick's time (1740).

The church consisted of a nave, with north and south aisles and a clerestory, having a small porch at the west end, the principal entrance being through a porch at the south-west; a central steeple, octagonal above the roof of the church, and a choir with neither aisles nor clerestory. The church extended completely across the precinct from east to west. Its extreme length was about 255 feet.

Nave, now Hall . . . . .	Feet. 126
Steeple . . . . .	14
Choir, now Dutch Church . . . .	100
Walls . . . . .	15
	<hr/> 255
West Porch . . . . .	12
	<hr/> 267

\* "21st Elizabeth, 18th July. Such persons as depart this life in St. Andrew's parish shall for this year be buried in the Newe Hall Yard."—*Assembly Book: Kirkpatrick*, p. 65.

† "9th April, 1661. The pulpit and seats at the Green Yard at the Newe Hall shall be taken down and set up with all convenient speed in the Green Yard at Christ Church, and the maior and aldermen shall continue their going to the Cathedral Church to the forenoon sermon on the Lord's Day, &c., as in times before 1642 they did."—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 65.

‡ 10th July, 1641, ordered: "That the Artillery Company shall have the lowe roome and the chamber over the same, on the east side of the porch

The external appearance was much injured by the fall of the steeple in 1712, and the absence of a transept detracts from the general effect. The ground, too, on the south side has been considerably raised; and the ugly modern south porch also injuriously obtrudes itself.

The south porch was always the principal entrance to the building, and in the 34th Henry VIII. Mr. Kemp, the chaplain, built a house over it,\* and the city gave him certain stone, timber, tile, &c., to the finishing thereof. †

If the view engraved by King correctly represents this house, it was by no means an ornamental feature; still it was as good as the far more pretentious structure which has replaced it.

Entering the hall by this porch, through the door engraved in a previous page, we should have, but for the huge and ugly orchestra which now seems permanently to encumber the west end of the hall, a view of the light and elegant interior of this beautiful building. It is much to be desired that an arch should be constructed at the east end of the hall and an orchestra there erected, which would harmonize with the building and allow the present unsightly encumbrance to be swept away: but want of funds is pleaded now, and will be doubtless for many a long year.

The hall is 126 feet long, and has a central aisle 33 feet

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of the south side of the Newe Hall, for the placing and laying their armes for 21 years, if they shall continue so long a company, paying 20 shillings a year for the same."—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 79.

\* "The City, in consideration that Sir John Kempe of his benevolence hath bestowed about the buylding of a lodging with three chambers, over the porch of the house late the black friars, now the Common Hall of the City, and on either side of the same porch, above 60 pounds; that therefore he shall have the same lodging with the office called the *Chapleyn of the Chappell* belonging to the said Hall called *St. John's Chapel* (this was the choir) with all the oblations; also liberty of the garden and yard called the *Preaching Yard*."—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 57.

† *Kirkpatrick*, p. 54.

wide, and two side aisles of 16 feet each. The central roof and clerestory are supported upon seven arches of the Perpendicular period; slender shafts, running up the face of the wall from the capital of each pillar and the top of each arch, support the wooden shafts from which the hammer-beams of the roof spring.

It was originally lighted by seven large windows on each side, one at each end of the aisles, a large central west window, and fourteen windows on each side of the clerestory. The clerestory windows are Late Perpendicular, and on the exterior the arms of Erpingham are placed on the wall between every two of them. The lower windows, except the great western one, and those on the south side are Perpendicular; and the easternmost one on the south side is of the same style, but of a later date, although earlier than those in the clerestory. The rest on the south side are Decorated, but none of the arches of them are true; one or two of them being particularly untrue, and the mullions and tracery have all the appearance of older work inserted in a more modern wall; an idea which is in a great measure confirmed by the fact of the scotched arches of them being all true and of Perpendicular character. When these numerous windows were filled with painted glass, the effect must have been extremely fine. In Blomefield's time, the glass of six of the clerestory windows still remained entire, and had the arms of benefactors, principally the Erpinghams, Felbriggs, Cliftons, &c.

From an ancient Will we learn that the easternmost window on the north side contained "the story of the Psalm Magnificat."\* This was Skeet's Chapel, and contained an altar

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\* Edmund Sedgeford, citizen and mercer, 1452, desired his body to be buried in the north part of the church, within the perclose there before the altar there which is near the window glazed with the history of the Psalm *Magnificat*.—*Reg. Aley*, f. 13: *Kirkpatrick*, p. 30.

of St. Barbara; the east end of the south aisle was Our Lady's Chapel,\* in the pavement of which still remains a large stone, said by Blomefield to have been part of Barnard's monument, subsequently used by the St. George's Company as a table for their business meetings: he must, however, be wrong, for Kirkpatrick noticed in his time, the existence of crosses on it, proving it to have been the slab of an altar.†

The porch at the west end of the hall is small and poor Perpendicular, and was closed up on the outside at the dissolution, when pantries were constructed at this end of the hall. The inner door is, although small and poor, very remarkable, being quite Early English in character. This cannot, however, have been its original place, as it stands partly on the site of the lane which existed in 1340. The great west window above has only poor modern tracery.

When this church came into the possession of the corporation, the gravestones and marble pavement were gone, for seventeen loads of paving tiles were brought from the Grey Friars to pave it‡ in 33rd Henry VIII. The next year the butteries and pantries, with shelves and bread hutches, at the west end were finished, the walls whitened, and rails for hangings made around it. Ten benches were fixed between the pillars, with seats and backs, and a main wall built from the ground up in the arch at the east end.§

The rails for hangings were for the decoration of the hall

\* Robert Barnard, 1509, desired to be buried in the Black Friars, "in the myddes before our ladies' awtier, in the south side of the meddil alley."—*Reg. Johnson*, f. 3: *Kirkpatrick*, p. 34.

† 4th Edward VI. "Item, in the Hall there, an altar, stondyng in the nether end in the stede of a cubbard." The crosses, in several parts not yet worn out, show it to have been an altar.—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 61.

‡ *Kirkpatrick*, p. 52.

§ *Ibid.* p. 53.

at guild feasts,\* and were used until 1700, when the hall was painted and "beautified."†

In 1645 the pavement was again removed, and the whole hall re-paved with Purbeck stone.‡

In 1661 the corporation commenced the practice of meeting here on the Sunday, to go thence to the cathedral, and this continued to Kirkpatrick's time.§

About the beginning of the eighteenth century it was used for the city assizes, and courts were built at each end, that at the east end being the Crown, and the other the Nisi Prius Court.

In 1662 it was used for an Exchange, and again in 1700,|| and so continued, with some intermissions, until the building of the present Corn Exchange.

Crossing the narrow passage, above which formerly stood the steeple, we enter the choir, now the Dutch Church and Workhouse Chapel. This is exactly 100 feet long and 32 feet wide, with no aisles or clerestory, but lighted originally by ten noble five-light Perpendicular windows and an east window of seven lights of Late Decorated pattern, of enormous size and beautiful tracery. The dedication was to St. John the Baptist. The Jacobean pulpit is about the oldest of the present fittings. A pretty clean sweep-out took place, most likely, at the dissolution, as some paving tile was then brought from Yarmouth to re-pave it¶ and make it fit for the City Chapel, to which purpose it was first appropriated. Kirkpatrick says it was, prior to the dissolution, wainscotted throughout, the wainscot being painted and gilt very finely

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\* Sir John Wodehouse, 10th December, 1651, "ordered 20 pounds to be put in his will towards hangings for the Hall for St. George's Feast, and commanded that all his cloths should be lent yearly to the said use until his heir come of age, and if he prove an honest man he will do in that behalf as I have done."—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 75.

† *Kirkpatrick*, p. 75.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 72.

§ *Ibid.* p. 73.

|| *Ibid.* pp. 77, 78.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 53.

with numerous scriptural and legendary subjects, some of which was in existence in his time, and fixed round the parlour of a house opposite St. Andrew's Church.\* He states it narrowly escaped destruction by fire in 1724, but was fortunately preserved. Where is it now? I can learn nothing further about it.

Save the east window, there is no portion of this building earlier than 1450. The wainscoting, it will be seen, was of that time; the reredos was made in 1458,† and in 1459 the steeple between the choir and nave was built.‡ The goods and ornaments remaining in it in the 4th Edward VI. were:

"Imprimis. Four desks fixed above the steps. Item, two long desks beneath the steps not fixed, one old long form and two short forms, a coffer with four feet, standing in the mid-chapel; two long lecturns and two turning lecturns, a beam that the rood sometime stood on, two long planks that were the cross that the rood was nailed on, a lamp of laton with a weight of lead in the roof of the chapel, a stool of iron

\* "At the suppression of the monastery it was bought by Mr. . . . . of St. Andrew's parish, and fixed round about the parlour of his house, which is opposite to the north side of St. Andrew's Church, where it still remains to be seen, *and is a curiosity of the kind scarcely to be matched in England.* Upon the lower rails were several inscriptions, still legible:—

"ORATE PRO ANIMABUS RICHARDI BROWN, NUPER MAIORIS CIVITATIS NORWICI, ET ALICIE, CONSORTIS SUE. (Mayor 1454.)

"ORATE PRO ANIMABUS EDMUNDI SEGEFORTH, MERCER, CIVIS NORWICI, NUPER DE SALLE, ET JOHANNES ET ELWYSE, UXOREM SUARUM, ET OMNIUM BENEFACITORUM EORUNDUM. (Died 1452.)

"ORATE PRO ANIMABUS WILLELMI NORWICH, QUONDAM MAIORIS CIVITATIS, ET . . . . QUONDAM CONSORTIS SUE. (Mayor 1452.)

"ORATE PRO ANIMA JOHANNIS NORWICH, SACRE PAGINE PROFESSORIS."—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 39.

† 1458. Katherine Marchale bequeathed to the building of a reredoce in the said church, twenty shillings.—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 31.

‡ 1459. The Lady Katherine Felbrigg, late wife of Sir Simon Felbrigg, Knt., bequeathed to the building of the steeple, twenty pounds.—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 31.

for one to sit on, a pair of organs standing upon a scaffold fixed at the chapel's end next the steeple, a new form standing by the organs, a pair of joined stairs to go up to the organs.

"Item in the vestry there. Two altar cloths of diaper, a corporas case of white damask with a cloth in it, a vestment of green velvet with an albe thereto, a vestment of blue 'wachet' with flowers of gold and lined with silk, and an albe thereto; three pieces of hangings of black worsted, embroidered with dead bodies rising out of graves; a book of Common Prayers, a new Bible."

After that time it cannot have been much encumbered with fittings, for we find it used to play interludes in,\* and in 1617 a lottery was there drawn.†

In 1619 the Bishop of Norwich endeavoured to get this chapel for the Walloon congregation, who were at that time using his chapel; but the Dutch, who were then using the hall, opposing it on the ground that the services being at one and the same time they should interrupt one another, ‡ he was obliged to give it up; and in 1625 the Dutch had a grant of the chapel for 6s. 8d. a year,§ and this has been at several times confirmed to them.||

\* "38th Henry VIII. Item. Paid for mending the doors, forms, and desks in the chapel, which were broken by violence of people that were there at an interlude the Sunday after Twelfth-day, 8½d.

"Item. Gave in reward to Mr. Bird, schoolmaster of the grammar school, for his scholars playing the said interlude, ten shillings.

"2nd Edward VI. Paid, 11th December, to the King's Players playing an interlude in the Common Hall on the Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, 20s.; and to my Lord Protector's Players, 14th December, 10s. Item. Another interlude was played here the Sunday before Candlemas; 30th March, 1616, Licence to Queen Anne's Company of Players to play four days in the Chapel near the new Hall."—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 58.

† "27th December, 1617. Whereas letters were received from the counsell about a running Lottery in this City, it is thought fit, at the request of Mr. Barbour, who brought the said Letters, that the New Hall Chapel shall be appointed for that purpose."—*Assembly Book*: *Kirkpatrick*, p. 59.

‡ *Kirkpatrick*, p. 61.

§ *Ibid.* p. 62.

|| 1663, 1687, *Ibid.* p. 63.

Since the workhouse has been established on the north side of the hall, this chapel has been used as the Workhouse Chapel; once in the year, however, a Dutch sermon is preached for the benefit of the few remaining representatives of the original grantees.

The octagon steeple between the nave and choir was built about 1459, as Lady Felbrigg's Will indicates (p. 86), and was a great addition to the external effect of the building. It was of two stories above the roof of the church, and contained in the 4th Edward VI. two bells.\* One had been sold by the prior to St. Andrew's parish for sixteen pounds: it weighed twenty-two hundredweight and had this inscription:—

“LAUDO DEUM VERUM, PLEBEM VOCO, CONVOCO CLERUM,  
DEFUNCTOS PLORO, PESTEM FUGO, FESTA DECORO.”

It was broken and new cast in 1556.†

There is a view of the hall from the south, engraved by King about 1670, for the third volume of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, which shows the tower complete.

As early as 1668 it was in a bad state of repair, and a considerable sum expended on it,‡ and in 1712 it fell down.§ A few of the shields of arms of Felbrigg, Clifton, &c. are built into the two walls, which were then built between the hall and chapel by John Goose and Nicholas Helwys, who thought their achievement worthy a commemorative inscription. The engraving placed as a vignette at the commencement of this paper shows the steeple as it appears in King's view.

The whole of the nave and choir is of rubble with stone quoins and dressings, and, with the exceptions I have specially noted, of the Perpendicular period, the clerestory of the nave being the latest portion. We will now proceed to the ex-

\* Kirkpatrick, p. 61.

† Ibid. p. 59.

‡ Ibid. p. 79.

§ Blomefield, Vol. IV., p. 341.



amination of the other buildings, to which we gain access by the narrow passage from the north door of the hall which takes us by half a dozen steps to the "Dark Entry."

We are here in a labyrinth of vaults, from which a large way has been cut through a massive wall into Bridge Street, and a pair of modern gates admit the little light thought necessary between their tops and the lintel of the gateway.\*

The plan shows that a series of vaults extend from this gateway into the south walk of the cloister. In the building itself this is not so apparent, as they have been built up after the most eccentric fashion—a dark closet constructed in one place and a staircase in another. One part is in charge of some important officer of the corporation, who has the key in his pocket and is not to be found: to reach the next bay a circuit must be made and access obtained through the workhouse.

The face of the wall in Bridge Street has been rebuilt, and it is therefore impossible to do more than conjecture that the Dark Entry was the original entrance into the convent. Parallel with the vaults which lead to the south walk of the cloister is another series of similar vaultings, extending from Bridge Street to the west walk of the cloister, where I place the cellar of the convent; a suggestion confirmed by its having been connected at the north-east end with the refectory and with these vaults at the other extremity, which formed the means of communicating with the Strangers' Hall; the latter appears to have extended along the east side of Bridge Street north of the Dark Entry. In the vault next the Dark Entry the Buttery Hatch is still plainly visible.

Over the Dark Entry, Kirkpatrick states, the *fermery* of the convent was placed.† I presume he does not mean the

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\* Chamberlain's Accounts, 33rd Henry VIII. Item, for conveying a waye or lane out of the street into the foresaid offices and school-house there, with fense walls of stone.—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 67.

† *Kirkpatrick*, p. 48.

*Infirmary*, which was usually apart, and would have been at the north-east extremity of the precinct; but the fermery for the receipt of rents and annuities payable to the convent.

The fermery "in peril of sinking" in the second year of Edward the Sixth, seems to be a different place, and more likely the infirmary.\*

All these vaults to the west wall of the cellar were, on the dissolution, adapted for the kitchens, bake-houses, boiling-houses, and other necessary offices for civic feasts; and on the site of the Strangers' Hall, the great kitchen, with the three enormous fireplaces, which now exist, was built in the 34th Henry VIII., and of necessity walls were pulled down in some places, built up in others; new doors and windows made, old ones blocked up; as the Chamberlain's accounts sufficiently testify.†

These kitchens and bake-houses exhibit unmistakeable signs

\* Chamberlain's Accounts, 2nd Edward VI. A new buttress was made on the south side of the house sometime called the "fermery," which was in peril of sinking.—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 67.

† 33rd Henry VIII. A new kitchen begun to be builded. Imprimis, paid to Mr. Gybbon, master of my lord of Norfolk's works, coming from Framlingham Castle hither, for his advice, 10*s*. Item, to divers labourers beating down the partitions between the arches and the vaultings and for clarifying the ground, 5*s*. 3*d*., &c.

34th Henry VIII. Shoring the planchour over the backhouse when the gable was taken down between the backhouse and the yard which is now the kitchen.

Costs and charges done in the time of this account at the Common Hall:—

Imprimis. A new kitchen out of the ground, making of two new ovens in the backhouse, with much other work and transposing in the same house.

Item. Finishing of a wet larder with new door, windows, shelves, &c.

Item. Finishing of a dry larder, or privy kitchen, in like manner.

Item. Paving the courts between all the said houses.

Item. Making of a new well out of the ground, with stops and chains, and a conduit from thence to the boiling office.

Item. Finishing of a boiling house with leads, cistern, &c.

Item. Finishing of a dresser house with all necessaries.—*Kirkpatrick*, pp. 66, 67.

of the decay of this branch of corporate business. For, alas! the roofs are falling in; the huge spits, masses of rust; the fittings rotting away: and in the midst stands the fire-engine, as if some ardent reformer had determined to quench the fires at once, if ever an attempt should be made to re-light them.

The vaults from the Dark Entry, cleared of existing obstructions, lead directly into the south walk of the cloister, through a bold and handsome arch, the piers of which are buried at least four or five feet.

The Cloister was a square of 85 feet, of which three sides only remain—the east, west, and south. The north side has long been levelled with the ground.

The west part of the south walk is now a back-house and cellar for the workhouse governor; and the east part of it is the pantry and storeroom of the establishment. The



SOUTH WALK OF CLOISTER, LOOKING EAST.

view on p. 91 is taken from the west end of this latter room, and I have removed the modern window from the arch on the left to show the east side of the cloister.

The west walk of the cloister and cellar of the establishment has had all its interior vaulting destroyed, and now forms the dining hall of the workhouse.

The room above it, now the men's dormitory, was altered at the dissolution for a granary. Its original appropriation is nowhere indicated, but from analogy with other plans the Strangers' Lodgings would be there placed. In 1687 it was leased to the Roman Catholics for a place of worship, having been before used by the Independents, after the city corn stock had been given up.\*

The kitchen of the convent stood at the north-west angle, and is entirely demolished, and the site of it occupied by the workhouse offices; but the back-house, which terminated the western range of buildings, still remains, with its groined vault and central pillar, and indications of a lodging for some of the inferior officers over it.†

The northern range of buildings is entirely destroyed; but I should here place the refectory, although in this I differ from Kirkpatrick, who thought the large room above-stairs on the west side, used by the Roman Catholics, had been the refectory; but I see no indications of such an appropriation; indeed the room itself must be comparatively modern in its present form, and is very likely to have been originally a number of small rooms, and thrown into one when granaries were required.

Kirkpatrick says there were "divers" rooms in the north side of the cloister, one of which was the Sealing Hall for

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\* Kirkpatrick, p. 63.

† 2nd Edward VI., Chamberlain's Accounts: "for taking down the tile over the vyce [a circular staircase] that led up to the old backhouse which was ready to fall down. Also for taking down certain galleries at the south end of the old backhouse which were ready to fall."

worsteads. In 1696 part of the north and west sides \* were appropriated to the purposes of the mint, and he saw divers skulls and other human bones dug up when the holes were made for setting down the large die-blocks. He also observed, in 1713, at the north-west corner of the cloister, two very large crosses painted on the walls, with many inscriptions on each side of them; one was on the north wall, the other on the west. It had then been long used as a beer cellar, and the walls were consequently very damp.

On the east side stood as usual the Chapter-house and Dormitory;† the former standing to the east of the latter, and being entered from the cloister by a vestibule under the dormitory, which must have been a very large one, as it extended from end to end of this side of the cloister.‡ A part of it (the north end) still remains, and is the women's dormitory of the workhouse; one of the original windows, now stopped up, is discernible on the side next the cloister.

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\* 35th Henry VIII.: "Six tables that stood in the fraytour were sold for thirty-six shillings, and the said house was made a garner or granary, as was also the fermery and several other rooms."

† The chapter-house fell down on St. Stephen's Day, 32nd Henry VIII., and a great part of the dortour roof with it. The entrances on the east side of the chapter-house were thereupon pulled down, and the wall levelled in the 35th Henry VIII. An arch fell down last winter, in the south corner of the chapter-house. It remains in ruins and not rebuilt.—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 48.

36th Henry VIII. Payments for making clean the cloister and fetching manure out of the ground that was the chapter-house, to fill up the corner near there to make it level with the rest, and for closing the chapter-house door.—*Chamberlain's Accounts: Kirkpatrick*, p. 49.

37th Henry VIII. Part of the dorter roof fell down, namely the middle part of it; and the timber of it was used to make trussells to all the new stalls in the pultre market, fresh fish market, &c.—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 50.

‡ 35th Henry VIII. Paid for seven new windows for the vault under the south end of the dorter.—*Chamberlain's Accounts: Kirkpatrick*, p. 68.

"For casting a moat next the river to keep in cygnets, where some time was the friar's jakes; and for making a fense wall out of the ground from the north end of the dorter to the watergate to fence in the mote."—*Kirkpatrick*, p. 67.

No part of the chapter-house remains; the site is occupied by modern houses.

Kirkpatrick mentions that a "cloistered walk ran from the south-east corner of the cloister to the steeple door, and was pulled down in the time of Elizabeth:" I have searched in vain for any indications of it. At this south-east corner, however, are some of the most remarkable remains in the whole area. A door, now stopped up, at the east end of the south walk led to a staircase, which, turning to the south, led down to a large and lofty groined vault, with a central shaft, now replaced by an ugly modern brick pier. On the east side of the southern bay a small and Early Decorated door, with a niche for a water stoup on the right of it, opens into the chapel of St. Thomas à Becket.\*

The groining of the great vault is of the same character as that of the cloister vaults, and of the same date. It is 55 feet long and 20 feet wide, and has been lighted by small windows some distance from the floor; but they have been stopped up and Perpendicular windows inserted, and these again have been replaced by apertures at a still greater height and of a more modern date. A Perpendicular east window, evidently itself an insertion, is now entirely closed up and the tracery removed. The view here given is looking west. The ugly brick shafts along the wall are of very modern date and were made when these vaults were used as wine cellars.

Above the chapel the Library was built about 1450, and two of the windows of it, blocked up, may be seen on the south

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\* 35th Henry VIII. Paid for breaking down an altar in the great vault, called Thomas Beckett's Chapel, and carrying out the stuff of the same, 2s. 3d.

36th Henry VIII. Breaking down a great "hurdas" in the great vault, making the new stairs out of the great vault into the little court next the chapel, and setting the door aloft and stopping the old door where the hurdas was.—*Chamberlain's Accounts: Kirkpatrick*, p. 68. [The "new stairs and door" are seen to the right of my view.]



CHAPEL OF ST. THOMAS À BECKET, BLACK FRIARS, NORWICH.





side next the Dutch Church. It was originally covered with lead, but was converted into a dwelling at the dissolution.\*

The annexed view shows the ante-chapel and the interior of the door into Becket's Chapel.



DOOR INTO BECKET'S CHAPEL, LOOKING WEST.

The singular position of Becket's Chapel cannot fail to arrest attention and excite speculation, and it is very possible my conjecture respecting it may not be at once received as satisfactory. Still, with the evidence I have adduced on the subject of the original site of the convent and a careful

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\* 33rd Henry VIII. Paid to a glasswright for making two panes of glass in one of the north windows of the chapel, which was broke by the tilers when the Library was tiled, 2s.—*Chamberlain's Accounts: Kirkpatrick*, p. 56.

"It was in that year covered with *thakkye*, and the windows of it were stopped with two loads of bricks, which came from the Grey Friars and cost only two shillings."—p. 51.

35th Henry VIII. "Item, transposing the said library into a hall, buttery, and a very fair parlour."—p. 51.

examination of the chapel, ante-chapel, and adjacent buildings, I believe it will be eventually conceded that this "great vault" was the crypt of the original chapel of the Black Friars erected on the site of the chapel of the Sack Friars. The proximity of the disputed lane prevented the addition of an extended nave, and necessitated contentment with the square building at the west end of the chapel, in which there was probably an entrance from the lane. The ground has been greatly raised about these buildings; but when the workhouse establishment is removed, an examination of the site to settle this and other points will very probably be made.

The whole of the ancient buildings north of the church are of the Decorated period (indicated on the plan by being coloured green), and are formed entirely of brick covered with an admirable cement. The repairs to the buildings, in the Perpendicular period, on the return of the friars after the fire, are discernible at various points, particularly in the "Dark Entry" and in the south walk of the cloister.

It is very much to be desired that strenuous efforts may be made, when the buildings fall again into the possession of the corporation, to prevent further destruction of these remarkable remains, and that pains may be taken to apply them to some purpose which, whilst of advantage to the town, may preserve them for the admiration of future generations, who may be probably better able to appreciate their merits than the present.

## Castle Acre Castle.

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ABOUT four miles to the north of Swaffham, on the north side of the river Nar, stands the village of Castle Acre.

After crossing the stream at the ancient ford, the road from Swaffham inclines a little to the right for a short distance, when it again turns to the left, and then runs straight up the hill on which the village is placed, forming the main street of it. To the right of this street are seen the earth-works and the mouldering, ivy-clad walls of the ancient Castle. The church stands at some distance to the left, and beyond it, in the meadows through which the Nar winds, are seen the extensive ruins of the once splendid Priory. But it is to the Castle that I must first direct attention.

Of recorded history there is little to be gleaned respecting it; all that is known is, that the site being granted by the Conqueror to William de Warenne, this Castle was erected by him or his son, and it remained in that family till the early part of the fifteenth century. From that period a bare list of its possessors is of little interest, for the Castle was

already in ruins; as we learn from an Inquisition\* taken in the twenty-first year of Edward III., when the property had been sold to the Earl of Arundel, that the site of the Castle and ditches were mere feeding grounds for cattle, "the herbage within the Castle and in the ditch being valued at 5s. per annum." To all who desire to know more of the descent of the estate, I must refer to Mr. Bloom's beautiful book,† or to Blomefield.

The following appears to be as accurate an account of the succession of these De Warennes as can now be obtained.

William de Warenne, who married Gundreda, a daughter of the Conqueror,‡ died, according to the Lewes Register,

\* Inquisition, 21st Edward III. *Blomefield*, Vol. VIII., p. 359.

† *Notices of the Castle and Priory of Castle Acre*, by the Rev. J. H. Bloom, B.A., 1843.

‡ This fact is stoutly denied in a paper by the late Mr. Stapleton, evincing the great ability of that lamented gentleman, in the third volume of the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, and as stoutly maintained by Mr. Blaaw, the able Secretary of the Sussex Society, in the thirty-second volume of the *Archæologia*. Mr. Stapleton questioned the evidence of a charter of King William to the Priory of Lewes, which, if genuine, places the matter beyond a doubt. It is the grant of a mansion at West Walton to that Priory, and the gift is for the soul of King Edward, for that of William's father, Earl Robert, for his own soul and that of his wife Matilda, for his sons and successors, and for the souls of William de Warenne and Gundreda his wife, "*my daughter*." All turns on the words "*filie mee*." These words appear in the original document above some nearly obliterated words of the same length, and this interpolation both parties say is of a late date: "a hand of Sir Robert Cotton's time." But what were the nearly obliterated words? Mr. Stapleton says they were "pro mee," and that the words "filie mee" were inserted with a fraudulent intent, overlooking the fact that no imitation of the ancient writing is made, no tampering with the nearly obliterated words attempted. Indeed no more has been done in this case than has frequently been done in old documents by antiquaries of the last and preceding centuries,—a word was nearly defaced, it was deciphered and written in the space above it. Mr. Blaaw again, after another inspection of the charter, returns thoroughly convinced he is right, and he brings forward additional evidence from the Lewes Register. I believe it is generally admitted Mr. Blaaw has the advantage in the discussion.

in 1088. William, his son, died 1135 (Blomefield); William, his son, succeeded him on his death in 1148. Hamlyn Plantagenet succeeded him, having married his daughter; he died in 1201 (Blomefield); William, his son, died in 1242, according to the Lewes Register, but Blomefield says 1240.

John Plantagenet, born 1231, died 1307 (Lewes Register) or 1303 (Blomefield).

John, his grandson, the last of the De Warennes, died in 1347, having shortly before sold the estate to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and again before his death possessed it. On his death an Inquisition was taken, when it was found that he had held it for life of the King's grant, with remainder to the Earl of Arundel.

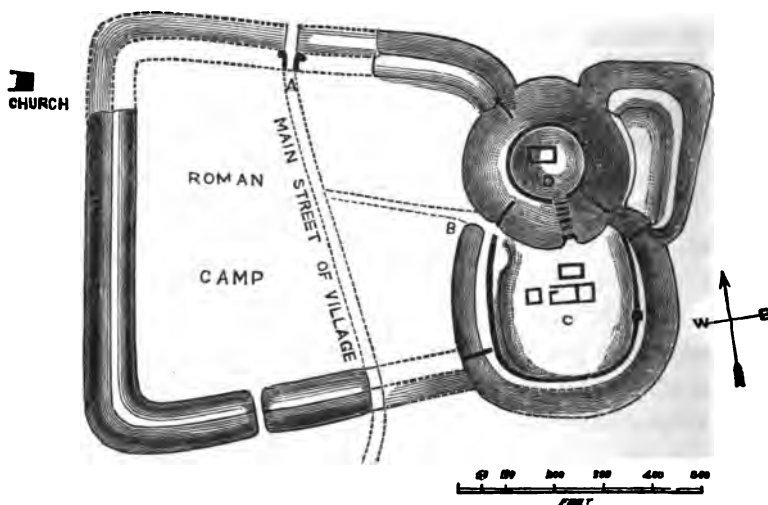
The complete demolition of all architectural features in the castle itself prevents our being able from them to judge of the probable time of their erection. By a charter of the second Earl, who died in 1135, we learn that the castle then existed, but we have no more certain data for determining this point. He gives to God and Saint Mary, and the Apostles Peter and Paul, at the place of Saint Mary at Acre, *inter aliâ*, "*duo etiam pomeria et totam culturam ab ipsis pomeriis usque ad meum castellum in quâ jam me laudate et devotissime concedente, ecclesiam suam fundaverunt.*"

It is stated that Gundreda died at this Castle in 1085, but this is not at all certain; she was buried at Lewes. It is certain, however, that the Castle was frequently the residence of the De Warennes, and that kingly visits were paid to them there.

Edward the First visited Acre several times; the last time in 1297, immediately before the invasion of England by the Scots. He may have been lodged on all these occasions, or on some of them, at the priory. Fifty years after this last visit the Castle was a ruin.

The present remains are spread over the two earthworks marked C and D in the subjoined plan, the horse-shoe and

the circular works. The circular work is considerably elevated above the other, and the north side of it is much higher than the south, so much so that the platform which ran along the top of the wall was divided into two parts, the northern division being fifteen feet higher than the southern one, and steps on the east and west sides of the enclosure formed the communication between the two.

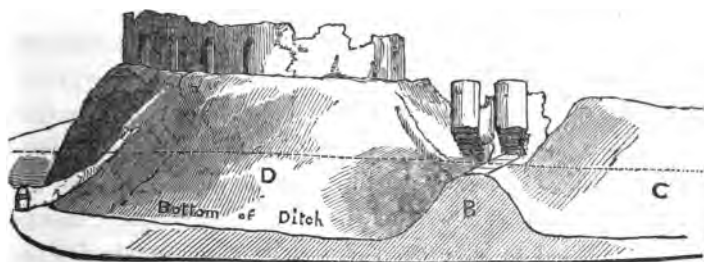


PLAN OF THE CASTLE AND EARTHWORKS.\*

The great gate of the Castle was at B: a little, and but a little, of it exists, nearly buried up in the earthwork. In 1787, when Mr. Kerrich visited the spot, this gate was much more perfect. I subjoin his sketch from one of his note books in the British Museum. Hearne and Byrne's view in 1781 shows this gate from the interior of the Castle yard. It was massive and unadorned, and almost entirely of rubble-work, with stone quoining.

\* This plan is reduced from one made for me by Sir Thomas Beevor, when we visited the place for some days in 1851.

The curtain wall on the circular work, with its shallow buttresses, is still in very much the same state as when Mr. Kerrich made his sketch, except that it now has an ample mantle of ivy. The wall on the horse-shoe work was levelled for some distance from the gate before his time.



MR. KERRICH'S SKETCH, FROM THE WEST, 1787.

Within this latter enclosure, which contains about two acres, were probably the principal habitable portions of the Castle, but all have perished. A few foundations are just discernible, but nothing can be made out of their plan without extensive excavations. They are marked on the plan as nearly as they could be traced, and Mr. Kerrich's note of them is very similar. The ruins of the curtain wall are extensive on the south and east sides, and there are remains of massive walls crossing the ditch at the north-east and south-west. From this enclosure the circular work seems to have been gained by a stone stair,—no trace of a bridge over the ditch is to be seen,—and some steps are still visible on the face of the bank. The ditches being always dry, there is no reason to doubt that this was the original means of access to the upper court.

Entering the upper area much of the curtain wall is seen remaining on every side, except in a large space on the south-east, where it has been completely destroyed: the interior is now entirely destitute of buildings.

On making an excavation on its north-west side, I was fortunate enough to reach (at a considerable depth) the walls of the great tower. This tower was of oblong form, and was entered by a door in the south wall. It was very small, about 50 feet by 40 feet, but the walls were of great thickness,—5 feet on the south and east, and full 13 feet on the north and west. The proximity to the earthen bank, on which the curtain wall stands, will account for the great additional strength given to these north and west walls of the tower.

The ditch of the circular work had walls built across it in four places: one at the south-west, which joined the gate-house; another at the north-west; a third at the north-east, and the fourth joined the east wall of the horse-shoe work. In this last there is said to have been a postern gate communicating with the small eastern enclosure, which seems never to have had any wall, and was very likely a feeding ground for cattle.

In the north wall of the circular enclosure is a curious passage leading to a small loop, from whence a view of the road passing to the north of the Castle could be obtained.

Leaving the Castle by the gate B and proceeding westward, we reach the main street of the village, which is still called Bailey Street. This was in the jurisdiction of the Constable of the Castle, and was the place of residence of the numerous dependents, the armourers, and other traders, whose business was almost exclusively connected with the Castle. Similar exempt jurisdictions are still to be found in almost every town having an ancient castle. At Norwich, the church of Saint Martin was "in the Bailey;" "the North and South Bailey" at Durham;\* "Bailey Street," at Castle Hedingham, may be named as at once occurring to the memory.

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\* "North and South Bailey Street have been occupied for centuries, as they are at present, by the houses of private individuals. Their former connection with the castle is shown by the fact that the houses in them were originally held by military tenants, bound by their tenure to defend the castle."—Ormsby's *Sketches of Durham*, p. 138.



Blomefield notices "Jeffrey de Balio before the gate of the Castle" as a witness to a deed, in the reign of King Stephen, a gift of a messuage in the "Bayley" to find a lamp in the Priory Church; and "John Mareschall de Balio" a witness to an undated early deed.\*

Bailey Street was protected at its north and south extremities by a gateway with two towers: the northern one only remains, and is a very poor rude specimen of Early English work; a small sketch of it is at the commencement of this paper. It is of rubble, with Barnack stone quoining, and has the groove for a portcullis still remaining. Every house in the neighbourhood has some of the stone-work of the Castle or the Priory in its walls. In a house on the east side of the street, near the north gate, are some remains of a stone and rubble building, traditionally said to have been a chapel. West of the street is an enclosure of considerable extent, the bank and ditch of which on the west and south sides are very perfect and of noble proportions. The north-west angle and north side have been to a great extent destroyed, but are still easily traced. Nearly in the centre of this enclosure is a house with an arched gateway of brick, of the time of Henry VII. or VIII., doubtless for the residence of a bailiff or steward. The timber ceiling of the lower rooms is plain but very good.

Having thus described the remains of the Castle and earthworks, a question of great interest remains to be discussed.

There is no doubt of the Castle having been erected by the De Warennes; but did they construct the enormous earthworks of which I have spoken? and if not, when were they made, and by whom?

On examining the banks on which the Norman walls have been built, various reasons presented themselves leading to the conclusion that the earthworks were not made by the

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\* Blomefield, Vol. VIII., p. 376.

Normans. Besides the difference in the level of the bank of the circular work before alluded to, it will be seen that the bank of the horse-shoe work was extremely irregular, and at the south was entirely cut away: the wall follows all the irregularities of the bank and runs down it at the south-east, crosses on the level of the enclosure, and again ascends the bank at the south-west. There are no means of accounting for the walls being built across the ditches in so many places if they were both the work of one period. It is clear, too, that the largest enclosure, which contains ten acres, never had a wall and was never included in the Norman Castle.\* The bank and ditch of this to the south and west struck me as

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\* This enclosure has obtained the name of the *Barbican*: from what cause it is impossible to ascertain; but the fact of the common use of the name on the spot beyond memory is certain. The Barbican is generally believed to be a kind of outwork or covering fortification to a gate, but a similar uncertainty as to what a Barbican was occurs in the case of Canterbury Castle. In Somner it is taken to mean an advanced work with wall and towers. The examples there given of the use of the word may assist in arriving at its original meaning. An inquest was held, 6th Edward II., on the body of Alexander, carter to the prior of Christ's Church, who had been killed within the priory by Adam le Corour. The coroners sat "*apud le Barbican extra Castrum Cantuar.*"—(Somner, *Appendix*, number VI., pp. 4, 5.) In the Coroner's Rolls of Canterbury, tempore Edward II., is the following note: "The escape of Walter de Wedering and Martin at Gate de Lamberherst. These prisoners of our Lord the King in the castle at Canterbury sat bound in a certain place called Barbican, nigh the same castle, to beg their bread. It happened that on Shrove Tuesday [year not given] before sunset, the same Walter broke the lock of the chain which bound him, and drew away with him the said Martin, against his will, to the Church of St. Mary's at the castle, where he remained and abjured the kingdom, and Martin of his own accord returned to prison."—(Somner, p. 19.) Among the fee-farm rents of Canterbury occurs: "*Barbican v<sup>s</sup> which are due upon account in the Exchequer;*" and again, some church lands are described as lying without Worthgate, *near the ditch of the Bayle, but now called 'Barbacan.'*" So that it would appear in early times to have been applied to some outwork adjacent to a street or public way, and in the liberty of the castle *in the Bailey*; and that in course of time the name came to be applied to the whole Bailey, as it is at Castle Acre.

being very Roman in character, and my supposition as to the site having been occupied by that people was fully confirmed in the course of the excavations I made in the circular work. On reaching the face of the original bank, north and west of the keep, I found a large quantity of pottery of undoubted Roman make; some of the flanges of urns and necks of ollæ are still in my possession. Blomefield notices coins of Vespasian, Constantine, &c., having been found here.\*

The Roman occupation of the site being established, how can the very eccentric form of the works be accounted for? It will be seen that, although the west bank of the largest enclosure, and which I have no doubt is of Roman construction, is perfectly straight, the north and south banks do not run at right angles with it, but incline inwards, the northern one bending considerably at its eastern extremity to join the circular work.

The conclusion I arrive at is, that the circular and horse-shoe works are of still earlier construction, and the Roman enclosure assumed its present form in order to include these earlier works within the camp. The small additional work at the north-east may also be Roman. Standing on the line of the great road, known as the "Peddar's Way," this must have been from the earliest times a position of great importance.

The interest of this investigation will not be diminished by an examination of the earthworks of other Norman castles. Take those included in the present volume. At Castle Rising the whole Norman castle is included in an ancient circular earthwork, with smaller rectangular works north and south of it. The castle of Norwich stands on a circular hill, having an earthwork of a horse-shoe form to the south of it. At Buckenham, too, the circular work enclosed the castle; and there still remain traces of an enclosure of a horse-shoe form

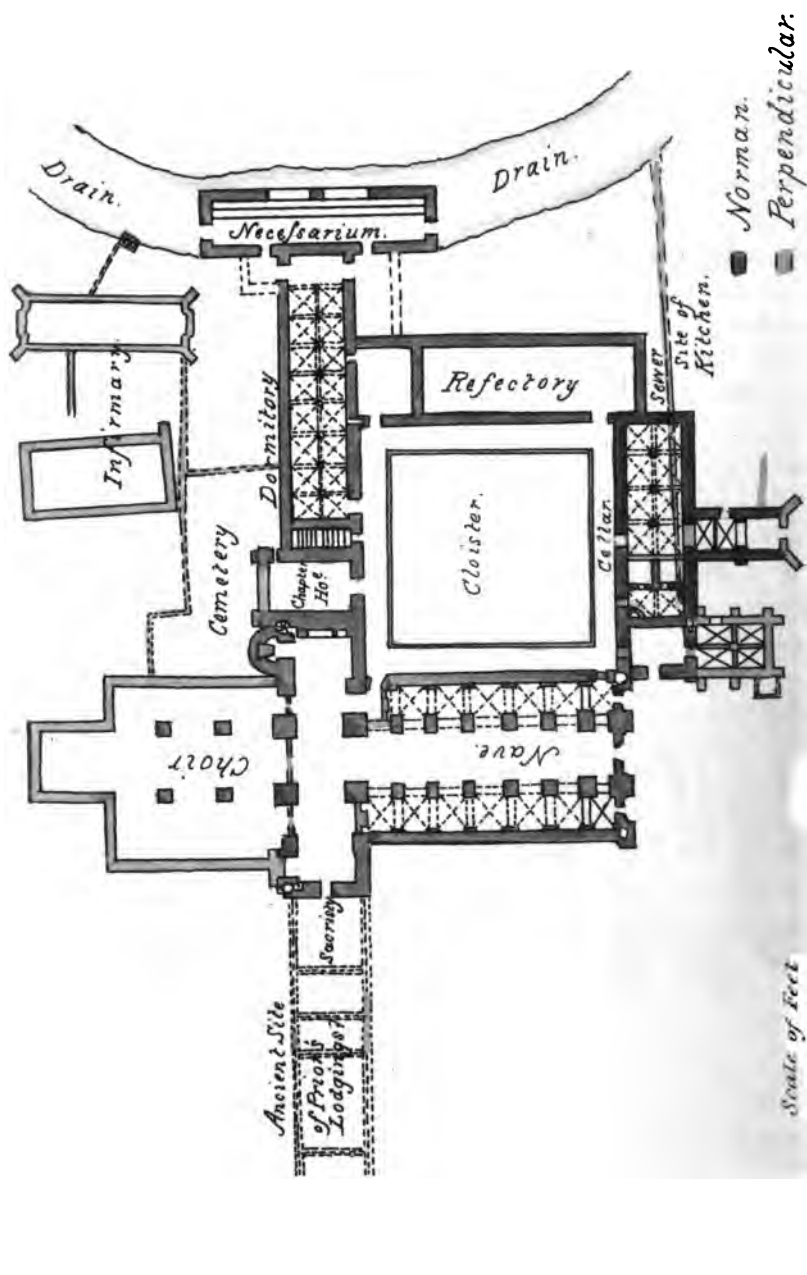
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\* Blomefield, Vol. VIII., p. 377.

east of it. At Castle Hedingham, Clare, &c., it was the same.

In some of these places, as at Norwich, the bank of the circular work was levelled before the buildings were erected; whilst in others, as at Castle Acre, the bank was allowed to remain, and the buildings were erected within it. In some, the entrance was at the junction of the horse-shoe on the circle; in others, outside the circle. These facts furnish additional evidence, if it be needed, that the walls and earthworks were the work of different people, and that the Normans availed themselves of these sites in consequence of their strength. And here we see the variety of interest afforded by the study of Archæology. Here is a castle of which all interesting architectural features have been destroyed; but, probably from that very cause, our attention is drawn to the remarkable character of the earthworks, and a view of the subject is presented to our notice which may hereafter be of great use in the investigation of other remains of a similar kind.



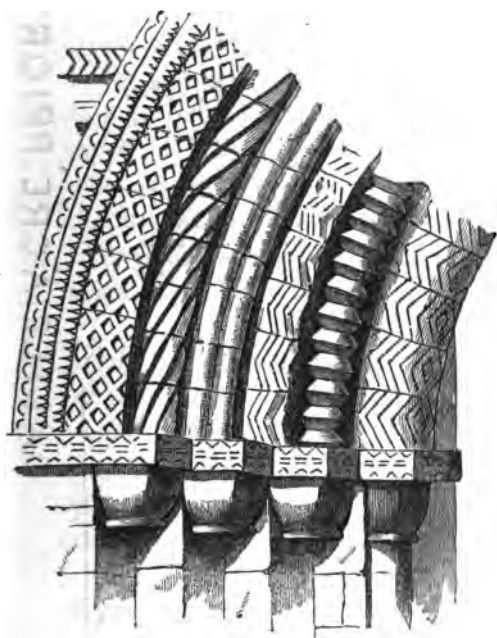


# CASTLE ACRE PRIORY.

1854.

## Castle Acre Priory.

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As I have before stated, the first Earl Warenne founded a priory of Cluniac monks in his castle at Acre and made it a cell to Lewes Priory, and his grant was confirmed by Bishop Herbert. This must have been before 1089, as the Earl died in that year; and the second Earl, finding the site they then occupied "too little and inconvenient," gave them two orchards and all

the plough-land from the same to his castle, the moor under it, with many other additions to his father's gifts, and the Priory was erected on its present site west of the parish church. Blomefield states, that the new church was dedicated by Bishop Turbus in the lifetime of the third Earl,

which fixes it between the years 1146, when the former was consecrated, and 1148, when the latter died. He does not, unfortunately, give a reference to the authority for this statement, and I do not see it in any documents to which I have access. The list of priors he gives commences with Angevine, occurring, he says, about 1130; Jordan, 1160; Richard, in Bishop Turbus's time; Odo, about 1180; Hugh, 1190; Maimon, about 1200. An earlier prior occurs among the witnesses to the original charter to Binham, "Lambert, Prior of Acre," and he must have been so between 1101 and 1112. There is a list printed by the editors of the *New Monasticon*, from the Castle Acre chartulary, headed, "Names of the Priors of the Monastery of the Blessed Mary of Castle Acre," commencing with Hugh, "Maimon succeeding him," and the succession of names after that being much the same as in Blomefield's list, but with no dates attached to them. May it not be that Hugh was the first prior in the new monastery? Most of the Norman work about the church seems to be of a late character, and the pointed windows in the upper story of the south-west tower must be of Prior Hugh's time.

The dedication appears to have been to the Blessed Mary, but the second Earl Warenne includes the Apostles Peter and Paul in his charter.\* The De Warennes were of course most liberal in their gifts, and many other benefactors are recorded. One curious execution of a deed of gift to this monastery is noted,—the wax was put to the grant, and the parties bit the wax instead of affixing a seal.

Notwithstanding its position as a cell to Lewes Priory, it had several other monasteries (one of them, Bromholm, of considerable importance) dependent upon it. The jurisdiction of the parent establishment was always very irksome in

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\* The charter of Roger Bigod to the Thetford Monastery, dedicated to the Virgin, is in the same form: he gives "to God, the Blessed Mary, the Apostles Peter and Paul, and the Convent of Cluny."



these cases, and efforts were constantly being made to get rid of it. During the time Castle Acre was a cell to Lewes we find one record of the interference of the Prior of Lewes, in the register of that house, under date 1282.

"At this time the church of Creach (Creak) was withdrawn from the possession of the convent of Castle Acre, in the absence of the prior of the said convent; for the same prior had absented himself at that time so that no one was able to learn any truth as to where he was or in what direction to turn concerning him. Also on the day of Saint Polycarp the Martyr (April 27th) in the same year, the chamberlain of Lewes, brother Benedict, was made Prior of Castle Acre by Sir John de Tyenges, Prior of Lewes, in full chapter, with the common assent of the whole convent of the same place."\*

At last in the 47th year of Edward III. it was emancipated from the control of Lewes and made denizen. Bromholm had thrown off the yoke of Castle Acre in 1298. It doubtless suffered much from the loss of the De Warennes, and still more from the attractions of Walsingham. The arm of St. Philip, however, had its votaries here to the last; the oblations in 1534 are put down at ten shillings,—a trifling sum compared with the wealth pouring into the coffers at Walsingham.

The only other event of importance on record is the surrender, executed on the 22nd November, 29th Henry VIII., by the prior and ten monks, of all the possessions of the Priory and the Priory itself to the king. These eleven were certainly not the whole of the establishment, for the visitors reported the names of seven as having been guilty of divers grave offences, of whom five did not sign the surrender. There were at that time, therefore, at least sixteen residents.

It is time, however, to turn to the building itself. The Castle stands on the high ground east of the village and

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\* Lewes Register, Sussex Collections, Vol. II., p. 34.

church; the Priory, in the low ground to the west. Approaching it from the village, the first object which presents itself is the Perpendicular east end of a small chapel, built up in the walls of a cottage at the north-east corner of the precinct. I have seen a plan, on parchment, in the British Museum, made in the last century, in which the garden surrounding it is called the "Almoner's Garden," and I think we may fairly conclude that this was the Almonry Chapel. Continuing along the road some little distance, the Priory ruins are seen in the meadows to the left, and we shortly arrive at the great gate. This is of Late Perpendicular brick-work, having a large arch spanning the road, and a smaller arch for foot passengers through a porter's lodge on the left, in which, too, is a staircase to a large upper room. The only ornaments to the gate are five shields of stone, evidently of earlier date than the other parts of the gate. The arms are—

1. Arundel.
2. England, temp. Henry V.
3. De Warenne.
4. Maltravers.
5. The Priory.

There is another panel, in which the arms are obliterated; this had, I have little doubt, those of Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, which are noticed by Blomefield among the arms in his time in the window of what was then called the "prior's dining room," and would complete the heraldic history of the course of descent of the lordship. Following the road through this gate and going down the hill directly south, we have before us the north end of what are called the "prior's apartments," and on our left the noble west front of the Priory church. On the beauty of this remarkable piece of Norman architectural skill, it is needless for me to dilate: the views in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, Cotman's

*Etchings*, and Mr. Bloom's *History*, must have made its appearance familiar to almost every one. It is sufficient to say it is covered with arcades of arches of various forms, interlaced and plain, the west doorway being the most elaborate portion of the design. Of the beautiful arch, the wood-cut, taken from a photograph and placed at the beginning of this paper, will serve to show the elaborate character. The effect of the west front is somewhat injured by the insertion of a large Perpendicular window, still it is very grand and imposing. The plan at the head of this paper, which has been carefully prepared for the purpose, will assist in developing the arrangement of the buildings, and the additions and alterations made in them.

The church occupied, as usual, the north side of a cloister, the other buildings being arranged round the other three sides of the square.

The church consisted of a nave, choir, and transepts, of which the west front, the south-west tower, and the north and south transepts present the most extensive remains. The choir is almost entirely destroyed, and little more than the foundations are visible. One point of construction should not be overlooked: the walls throughout are of rubble-work, even the pillars have only a facing of stone; and although the entire face of the west front is of freestone, in all other external walls, the piers, mouldings, shafts, and quoinings alone are of freestone, the rubble wall being merely *plastered over*.\* The west front is Late Norman work, except the

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\* I would beg particular attention to this fact, for a great deal has been written of late years about the truthfulness of early art. There are writers who would have us believe that the mediæval architects never whitewashed or plastered their walls, and one has gone so far as to maintain that if they built their church walls of rubble, they left the internal face even bare! My readers will find another instance of "untruthfulness" in the case of the buildings at the Black Friars, Norwich, in an earlier paper in this volume. Another instance I observed last year in the beautiful abbey of Valle Crucis, where, except in the west front, the walls and vaultings are formed of a

upper story of the tower, (which is a transition to Early English, the windows being all pointed,) and the great central window, which is of the Perpendicular period. Most of the tracery is gone; sufficient, however, of it is left, as will be seen by the view, for us to be able to restore it. It is of



INTERIOR OF CASTLE ACRE PRIORY CHURCH, LOOKING WEST.

hard black shale and a coarse stone, common in the quarries in the neighbourhood, the piers, quoinings, shafts, and dressings, being of freestone, and the coarse black work being both internally and externally covered with plaster level with the ashlar. In an article on "Church Building" in the *Quarterly Review* for September, 1856, the writer remarks, that "every day, in defiance of what might appear a truism, plaster is scraped away to expose dark grey or red stone, and internal walls are made to exhibit red brick-work, which by some strange confusion of thought is supposed to be a more 'real' material than other combinations of lime and clay."

the same character as the great west window of Norwich cathedral, erected at the same time, and no doubt for a like purpose; viz., to throw more light into the dark nave.

The architects who inserted the Perpendicular west window were guilty of a very unsightly alteration beneath it. They dropped the outer moulding of the fine Norman arch over the door in the interior, filling up the space with plain ashlar. I suppose it was intended to give a greater appearance of solidity to the supporting wall.

The aisles were very narrow; the pillars very massive and plain. The four pillars of the central tower exist to about a third of their original height. The east end of each aisle of the nave has been stopped up with a Perpendicular brick wall for an altar. On the south side, the door leading into the cloister is narrowed in order to effect this. The north wall is nearly entirely down, although much of it existed in 1780.

Each transept had a small eastern apsidal chapel, as at Thetford and Norwich, of which the one in the south transept is the most perfect, although this has been sadly mutilated in the Perpendicular period, when a larger window was inserted. In each the base of the altar has been left. In that of the north transept the apse has been cut away in the Perpendicular period, in order to extend the north aisle of the choir. A similar enlargement of the choir occurs at Thetford and Binham; at Thetford it took place in the Early English period, and formed the Chapel of the Virgin.

The newel stairs at the north-east and south-east angles of the transepts, leading to the triforium and clerestory, are tolerably perfect and enable us to examine the passages which run round the entire church. In the clerestory the wall is slightly recessed behind the pillars which support the arches of the windows, in order the better to enable a person to pass them.

I have never yet seen a reasonable suggestion of the use

of these passages, and will venture to throw one out. It is known that early in the Norman period glass was so scarce that even some of the windows of Westminster Abbey were filled with canvass; and in all cases where it was desirable to admit air the windows were closed with wooden shutters. May not the original intention of these passages have been to enable the sacrist to fasten the shutters when wind or storm, or the approach of night, rendered it desirable that the windows should be closed?

The base of the choir screen, which ranged with the east wall of the transepts, was discovered in an excavation made a few years ago by Mr. Bloom.

Of the choir itself little is to be said beyond the fact that its original apse must have been removed, as has occurred in so many instances, and some fifty feet added to its length. As far as I am able to judge, the Lady Chapel, as at Thetford, was on the north side of the choir.

The stall-work here, in the early part of the fifteenth century, was considered so good that there is a charge in the accounts of Mettingham Priory, 1413-14, for the expenses of one of the chaplains of that house despatched with a carpenter to visit Lynn and Castle Acre to view the stalls there.\*

At the north end of the transept is a door leading into a building, now demolished,—the original sacristy; beyond which are many foundations, which I have marked on the plan as far as I could make them out. They appear to me to indicate the original site of the prior's apartments.

Crossing the nave, and entering the cloister by the door in the south aisle, the first building we approach on the east side is the chapter-house. The entrance to it has been broken away, but the walls on the north and south are perfect as regards the rubble-work. Almost every stone of the numerous arcades, which rose one above the other, has been

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\* *Archæological Journal*, Vol. VI., p. 67.

carefully picked out. There were eighteen stalls on each side. In its original appearance it must have been very like the chapter-house at Bristol. The east wall and buttresses are of the Perpendicular period; and as the piers of an enormous Norman arch, which extended to the roof, are built up in the present east wall, the original east end, if not apsidal, extended some way further east. An excavation would no doubt set this question at rest.

In the south wall, close to the east end, is a small Norman door leading into the cemetery.

The domestic buildings are the next in order for examination. Here, as usual, the dormitory is the building adjoining the chapter-house south. In some cases it runs over the chapter-house entrance, but in this instance the chapter-house opens at once into the cloister. The access to the dormitory was through a doorway from the cloister, a little south of the chapter-house door, and by a flight of stairs, most of which are still existing, each stair worn down in the centre by frequent use. It was lighted by a range of windows on the east side and one looking into the cloister; and beneath



CHAPTER-HOUSE AND DORMITORY, FROM THE CLOISTER.

it was a vaulted room extending its whole length. The level of the dormitory floor and the bottom of the windows have been lowered at some late period, and the head of each window has a small portion of it filled up with brickwork and a Perpendicular arch in stone inserted. On the west side of it is an original arched recess, with a drain running straight down through the thickness of the wall into the earth, to prevent the necessity of any of the monks leaving the dormitory after it was locked up for the night.

The appropriation of the vaulted apartment beneath the dormitory has been frequently much mistaken. In this case the late Mr. Forby mistook it for the refectory of the convent;\* but it clearly was not so. The refectory was invariably a large, lofty, light, and airy hall, as our college halls are: they never dreamt of dining in a crypt or vault. The cloister was the place for reading and exercise during the summer months; but during the winter months, this vaulted apartment under the dormitory formed the place for such pursuits. What it was called I can only conjecture: there is no record to assist me. In the valuable plan of the monastery of St. Gall,† (ninth century) published by Professor Willis, the room under the dormitory is furnished with a stove, and is inscribed "subtus calefactoria domus;" and the cloister before it is "the porticus before the house, warmed by a stove;" and he adds, that in the Abbey Chronicles it is called "Pyrale," and a passage adjoining it on the plan is called "Egressus de Pirale;" and "Pisalis" in Ducange, among other definitions, has one agreeing with the above description.

In an unpublished manuscript Chronicle of the Priory of Parklode (Louth) in my possession, I observe that in 1246 Sir Richard de Dunham, Abbot of Parklode, "made (*inter alia*) the monks' Dormitory at Parklode and the Calefactory,

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\* Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. III., p. 6.

† *Archæological Institute Journal*, Vol. V., p. 85.



with the Chapter-house, and, beginning from the very foundations, all above and under and in the same, and the Cloister, which abutted upon the said Dormitory and Calefactory." The room under the dormitory at Bromholm was undoubtedly used for the same purpose: it has still the large stove remaining, and has consequently been supposed to be the kitchen.

May I not call this the Calefactory of the convent?

It had an entrance from the cloister, and other doors at its southern extremity, where it joined the wall of the necessarium; but the east and west walls, for about eleven feet at that point, have been entirely destroyed, and therefore the exact position or number of them is somewhat difficult to determine. It is clear, however, that there was a projecting building fourteen feet square at the south-east end; a kind of porch, for a door to the necessarium leads out of it on the south side; another towards other buildings I shall presently refer to, on the east side; and a third, I have very little doubt, from the calefactory. Opposite this, on the west side of the calefactory, there are some traces of a door leading into a lean-to building, which had another into the necessarium, and was probably used as a washing place.

I cannot find any trace of stove or flue in the room under the dormitory; but the wall has been broken away in several places where such a convenience may have been placed, and I made no excavations to the level of the floor, except to ascertain the existence of the range of central columns.

The purpose of the long building which ends the range of buildings southward, standing east and west, is very apparent. In the ground east and west of it a canal is still traceable, communicating with the river, which ran through a large arch at each end. This stream was vaulted over, and the floor of the building was about the level of the calefactory. The two doors by which it was entered I have alluded to above. Within it, a wall, which cut off about a third of its width, had twelve doors into twelve separate vaulted conveniences.

A similar building was until very recently commonly pointed out at Canterbury as the cellar of the establishment, and Mr. Forby was thus led to make a like misappropriation of this.

Above the vault of the apartment in which these cells were placed, now broken down, was a room extending the whole length of the building, possibly used as a store chamber, to which I can see no means of entrance except it were from the dormitory. At a distance a little east of the dormitory are some buildings, the use of which has been variously conjectured. Mr. Forby, placing the refectory under the dormitory, in the low vaulted room I have called the calefactory, concluded that here were kitchen, buttery, &c.; others have thought them the prior's apartments. My own belief concerning them is, that they are the remains of the infirmary buildings; and my reasons are, their complete isolation and the position being the same as in the Canterbury plan and in other well-ascertained examples.

There has been a great deal of alteration and rebuilding. The principal building is a large hall, ranging east and west, having a fire-place at either end: this is all Late Perpendicular work. South of it are remains of a necessarium, upon the edge of the canal before mentioned; and on the north side are foundations for some distance, difficult to make out without excavation, which are connected with a building not standing square with the others, but with its east end turning more to the north; a bit of rubble wall and a portion of a buttress at the west are all that are now above the ground. This may have been the infirmary chapel.

Returning into the cloister, the south side has, as usual, the refectory; of this the bare walls on the north and south sides and east end are all the remains.\*

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\* Mr. Forby having placed the refectory elsewhere, seems to have been much puzzled to appropriate this lofty hall; not to be wanting in a suggestion, however, he says he would here place *the hall and chambers of novices!*

In the thickness of the north wall there is a curious vaulted passage coming to an abrupt termination at the east end of the refectory. It is impossible now to say for what purpose it can have been applied. In the portion which is left there is no outlet or opening of any kind. It may have been the end of a passage communicating with the windows on the cloister side. The entrance to the refectory was at the west end of the south wall of the cloister. Between the refectory and the dormitory was a square room, with a door from the cloister, and possibly another (for there is a large opening in the wall) into the calefactory. If this had a room above, as has been thought, it must have been completely dark when the doors were closed. I see, however, no trace of any floor, and there is a Norman window looking into the cloister, nearly over the door, and there may have been another on the other side. There was no communication between it and the refectory. Fitted up with presses, &c., it would be a convenient treasury.

The kitchen must have stood at the south-west angle, but is entirely gone, or so mixed up with the domestic buildings of the farm-house which occupies the west side of the cloister, as to make it impossible for me to put it upon the plan. The spring of the arch of a large sewer, which ran by or through it, is just discernible in the side of a modern drain, a little west of the refectory.

The range of buildings on the west side of the cloister are now to be described: the difficulties to be encountered in doing so are somewhat formidable, as will readily be conceived when I state, that the original Norman arrangement was altered in the Decorated period; wholly re-arranged and some part pulled down in the Perpendicular period, before the end of which it again experienced some alteration; was afterwards altered to adapt it for a farm-house, which again has received many subsequent alterations and additions. In the last century a large addition was made on the west, but

this has now, in the year of grace 1856, been almost entirely demolished, and the appearance of the structure at this point has again resumed very much the same appearance as in the view at page 123. Yet after all this a great deal may be made out, and that of considerable interest.

I must again refer to the plan. It will be seen that a range of Norman buildings extended along the whole west side of the cloister, and that from the centre of them was an extension still further west. It is with these portions I shall first deal.

Commencing with the western portion, a low Norman arch at the north end leads into a dark vaulted apartment, now used as a fowls' house. The vaulting is what is usually termed waggon vaulting, a plain semicircular vault running east and west. Although there is an opening now on the south side, it is clearly not original: on that side the massive wall was built solid. On the east side a Norman arch of similar character to that by which the place is entered, now bricked up, once gave access to the cloister; opposite to it is a similar arch, with a Norman window, or rather slit, by its side, both also blocked up. This was the original entrance to the monastery. When the doors were closed and admission required, he who had charge of the door was enabled to communicate with the person without, through the slit. A similar arrangement still exists at Westacre.

Above this porch is a small chapel, which, although much altered, still has a fine Norman arch spanning the altar space at the east end. Access to this chapel was obtained by a newel staircase at the south-west angle, the original entrance to which must have been from without and has been destroyed. This does not appear to have been before noticed, but will be quite plain on an examination of the exterior of the south wall of the entrance just described, where the Norman arches of the wall are so arranged as to admit that portion of the staircase at present existing, and which projects

into the north-west corner of the space, now used as a yard. It may be considered that I am over particular on this and other matters; but so much depends upon strict accuracy, that I am very willing to be so accounted rather than omit to point out, as far as possible, the evidence from which I draw my conclusions. In that case others can examine, and if they have good reasons for differing with me, have an opportunity of putting me right.

This "yard," into which I have now been brought, was originally vaulted over by two plain cross-vaults, the springers of which exist. Southward of these another bay has a solid wall in the centre, with a waggon-vault over each division running north and south. Beyond this, southward, nothing but foundations exist, except on the west side, where the walls are original for some height. Foundations of piers exist where marked on the plan. In the west wall a bold arch, now bricked up, opened into a double-bayed groined Norman vaulted apartment with a similar arch, now built up, opening westward; beyond which, westward, nothing is traceable but the massive Norman wall, and that for a short distance only. No doubt can exist on the minds of any acquainted with conventual arrangements, that the portion I have described comprised the original cellarage of the establishment. The arrangement of the portion to the north is very remarkable. The first alteration to be noted in the original plan is in the newel stair to the chapel before alluded to and the chapel itself. In the Early Decorated period, a larger window, having three lights, was inserted at the east end, and two large two-light windows on the north side, and a very beautiful sedilia placed in the south wall. The staircase was enlarged, and the upper part of it projected from the main west wall; an angel playing on a cittern forms the remaining bracket. The doorcase is distinctly to be seen in the wall below. The interior of this chapel is represented in the frontispiece to this volume.

Subsequently the buildings southward must have fallen into dilapidation, and in the Early Perpendicular period great alterations were effected. The guest chambers, which I judge were over the cellars, must all have been destroyed, and fresh arrangements, now also obliterated, made to the south-west. At this time the original western door and window slit of the monks' entrance were stopped up, and an addition of some twenty feet made to the building, west; a staircase added to the north-west angle of the new building, and the chapel entered from it by a door, now walled up, which may still be seen in the north face of the building: inside which door is a niche for holy water, with a drain at the bottom. A square bay window was projected to the west. Shortly after, a number of lofty rooms, with handsome two-light windows, the walls being of brick, were built over the two bays of the cellar, next to the original chapel, two stories in height. An entrance into the cellar beneath was made from the cloister, and a fresh entrance made into the chapel from the staircase of the south-west tower of the church; so that this chapel had then three entrances: one from without by the north-west stair; another from the convent, by the ancient staircase; and the third from the church, by the south-west tower stair. On the south jamb of the east window of the chapel, a painting on the wall, which Mr. Bloom has in part recovered from the white-wash, represents a bishop with cope and pastoral staff.

The building stated above to have originally projected westward from the centre of the cellar, received, late in the Perpendicular period, a west front of rather handsome appearance. It is still in existence; and the removal of the farm-house in 1856 has again opened to view this and the rest of the building very much as it appeared in 1778, when Hearne and Byrne's view was made, from which the engraving in the next page is reduced.

In this view the western bay window of the chapel and

the staircase to it (now destroyed) are shown, with the slits lighting the cellar beneath. Portions of a window will be seen to the left of the picture, which brings me to the next alteration in these buildings.



VIEW OF WEST SIDE OF PRIORY IN 1786.

This alteration, which must bring us late into Henry the Seventh's time, was to divide the chapel into two apartments, by a stout wall with a large fire-place on each side it; the portion of the chapel thus cut off being now lighted by a huge semi-circular bay window, the one just seen in the print on the north side, and the bay window west. The large window, in Blomefield's time, contained much painted glass; among the rest, the device of Prior Winchelsea (prior 1510), and the red and white rose united. Another space was cut off the chapel internally at the west end, by wainscoting painted with the red and white rose, and was in existence when Mr. Forby prepared his account for Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, (1811) although it has now entirely disappeared.

Was it that these rooms were prepared for the reception of Henry VII. or VIII. on one of their visits to Norfolk? Whether it were so, or the tradition be correct that the latter priors located themselves here, is a difficulty which must be left to time to determine. Whoever was lodged here had all appliances for comfort or convenience, without intruding on the other parts of the building.

A short distance to the south-west, are the foundations and fragments of the walls of some late buildings, which it is difficult to appropriate without excavation: they form three sides of a square, and may have been brew-house, bake-house, &c.

In one of the views in Grose, taken in 1771, a square building may be observed in the distance, immediately opposite the west front: it seemed at that time to have been used as a dove-house, but, as it stood in the line of the precinct wall, may have been the ruins of an earlier gate-house than the one by which the precinct is now entered. A large arch may be seen on its east front in the view. It is now entirely gone.

I have now, I believe, indicated all that is worthy of examination within the precinct of this, the most extensive and complete of those noble buildings, raised by the piety and zeal of our forefathers, which our county now contains; and whilst I desire we may never again see such establishments in their ancient strength and vigour covering the length and breadth of the land, I do trust to see the day when something like an organised system may be entered upon to preserve from further injury these valuable studies for the architect, the antiquary, and the historian.



## Norwich Castle.

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ALTHOUGH such of the buildings of the Castle of Norwich as have been preserved to our day bear unmistakeable evidence of their Norman construction, there can exist no doubt of the correctness of the tradition that a strongly fortified place existed here long before that period.

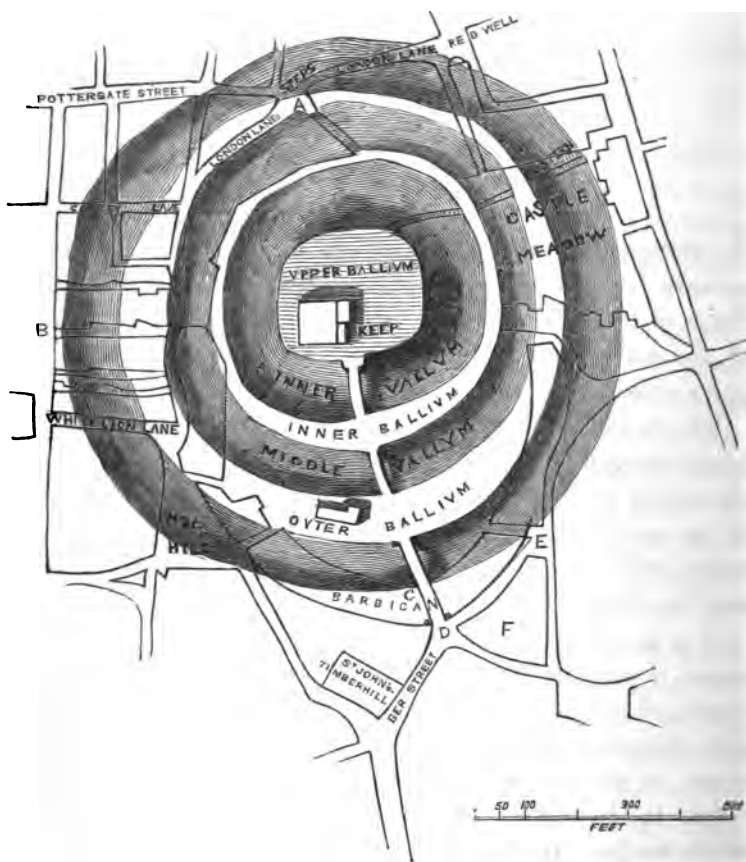
The fact of lands granted in 677 to the monastery of Ely being charged with castle-guard to Norwich Castle, is a very strong fact in support of such a conclusion; and the character of the earthworks by which it is surrounded also indicates a much earlier era for their construction than that of the Norman invasion.

But in attempting to determine the age of these earthworks, I am met by a great difficulty. The plan of them which, after a most laborious search, I have made, differs in very important points from that which is now generally received as the correct one, namely, that prepared and laid before the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Wilkin in 1795,\* which has been received and adopted as correct by such careful and judicious antiquaries as Mr. Richard Taylor and the late Mr. Woodward. I shall show that they have all been led into error by Blomefield, who had the opportunity of examining our corporation archives, which it is possible they had not, and which I believe I shall be able to show contain very important evidence on this subject.

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\* *Archæologia*, Vol. XII., p. 146.

The following is a reduced copy of the plan illustrating Mr. Wilkin's paper in the *Archæologia*.



MR. WILKIN'S PLAN, 1795.

We here see a great central hill, nearly circular in form, completely encircled by two lofty banks and three deep ditches; across these, three bridges are thrown on the south side of the central hill, taking a direction a little east of south.

The Castle gate stands on this plan still further south, at the point marked D. There is nothing in this part of the world like it,—nothing in this or any adjoining counties with which we can compare it, if it be correctly laid down by Mr. Wilkin.

Now three things will not fail to strike the eye on looking at this plan. *First*, the extraordinary and capricious manner in which the houses and buildings are scattered over the space. *Secondly*, the remarkable name of the vacant space opposite the Shirehall,—the “Castle Meadow.” It is an old name, certainly not applicable to it for many hundred years: but if Mr. Wilkin’s plan be correct, could it ever have been so? Two lofty banks and two tremendous ditches occupied almost the entire space. *Thirdly*, the position of the ancient County Court. This, according to Mr. Wilkin’s plan, was built on the top of the outer bank,—a rather extraordinary position for a court-house.

On what evidence, therefore, does the plan now before us ground its claims? Mr. Wilkin states that the outer ditch has been filled up from “time immemorial,” and his evidence of its former existence rests on these statements. On the north side of the Castle, at the point marked A on the plan, he shows a descent into Pottergate Street from London Lane. A few years before his time, he says, the descent was so sudden that the communication from one street to another was by steps, and the passage is still called St. Andrew’s Steps, being in the parish of St. Andrew.\* He shows, however, no corresponding rise further on, as would be the case if this sudden descent were one side of a ditch.

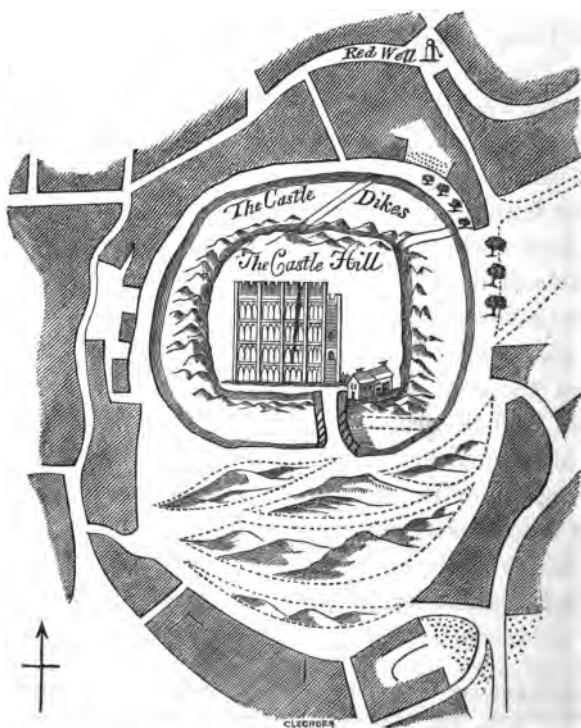
He further fixes on a spot to the west, at B, where, on Blomefield’s authority, he places the outer line of the ditch,

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\* He does not seem to have been aware that Buff Coat Lane, on the south-east of the Castle, was “Barningham Stile,” descending into King Street, by *steps* at the upper end of it.

adjoining what he and Blomefield incorrectly call the "Magna Crofta," or great croft of the Castle, now the Market Place, the Magna Crofta being that large triangular piece of land west of the market between Upper and Lower Newport Streets.

And lastly he states (again following Blomefield) that this outer ditch extended on the east nearly to Conisford, and adds that he remembered some vestiges of it in the "Castle Meadow," which were levelled some years ago. I have no doubt he is correct in stating he saw traces of a ditch, but we shall presently see what was so levelled, and whereabouts it was.



CLEER'S PLAN, 1696.

These are all the facts he offers in evidence of the outer ditch of this remarkable plan.

Of the second ditch the only evidence of its existence appears to be a statement made by Kirkpatrick (who died in 1745) that he had observed some remnants of massive walls between the Shirehouse and the existing ditch, and he supposed some foundations he saw must have been those of a bridge over a ditch; but the whole area had been so dug about for sand, that he could not positively state them to have been so. His reason for thinking a bridge stood here was, that if the "Shirehouse Yard" had a ditch to it, a bridge was necessary for communication between the Castle and the Shirehouse. Cleer's plan of 1696, on the opposite page, exhibits no traces of any ditch but the one now in existence.

Mr. Gurdon, whose intelligent Essay on the Castle is dated 1728, supposed the foundations he observed there (probably those named by Kirkpatrick) to be those of a grange for the constable of the Castle, and says nothing of any foundations like those of a bridge. Camden, Spelman, and Neville, are all equally silent as to any other ditch except the one which is to this day, after so much filling-up, so extensive and complete.\*

Of the wall and gate, either at Golden Ball Lane, where Blomefield places it, or further south, where Wilkins fixes it, there is no evidence offered by him. And there is a similar

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\* In the spring of 1856, some workmen, in repairing the road nearly opposite the foot of the present bridge, came upon a fragment of a wall. Excavations under my direction were subsequently made, which resulted in the discovery of a mass of rubble wall, nine feet square, at the distance of eighty feet from the wall of the eastern lodge at right angles with it. Fragments of fallen wall ran from it in the direction of the west side of the bridge, but no further trace could be found in any other direction, although trenches were carried nearly to Golden Ball Lane, in some parts to the depth of thirteen or fourteen feet. The conclusion I arrived at was, that it was an advanced work for the protection of the entrance to the bridge.

silence as regards a postern gate and a way running down the hill on its east side, and making its way over banks and ditches into King Street, nearly opposite Harveys and Hudson's bank.

This plan of Mr. Wilkins has been so completely taken for granted, that I believe, until I was induced to investigate its claims to authenticity, not a whisper had been heard against it. And in endeavouring to ascertain what the plan of the earthworks really was, I had not only to construct a new one, but in the first instance to sweep away Mr. Wilkins' theory.

I must first call attention to the ground occupied by the Castle. It will be seen on looking at a map of the city, that a bold hill rises at Bracondale and extends along the west side of the river, Ber Street (Berg or Hill Street) running along the crown of it, until at its northern extremity it rises still higher (and has probably been also cut and shaped by art) and then abruptly descends. The north and west sides descend in places somewhat precipitously, and the communication between streets running parallel with each other would naturally be by steps. Hence St. Andrew's Steps and Barningham Stile.

The river runs for some way to the east of and parallel with Ber Street; and at some distance on the other side of Ber Street, at about the point of junction of Surrey Street and All Saints' Green, rose a stream of water, at a point marked in Cleer's map (1696) as *Jack's Pits*, from whence it took a course about midway between All Saints' Green and Surrey Street, crossed the north end of St. Stephen's Street into Red Lion Street, through the block of houses between Orford Hill and the Haymarket, crossed White Lion Street (formerly the Sellaria, Saddlersgate, and Spurrier Row), thence nearly straight to London Street (Hosier Gate), where it took a sharp turn and joined another stream which took its rise in St. Giles's, and ran between the Guildhall and Public Library to the point of junction in Hosier Gate at the corner of

Little Cockey Lane,\* down which the united streams rolled, crossing Pottergate, running along the Hole-in-the-Wall Lane, past the site of St. Crowche's Church, across St. Andrew's Street, to the main river.

And here we have the cause of another of Blomefield's and Wilkins' blunders. It will be remembered that at the point B on Wilkins' plan the bank of the outer ditch is placed. *This was the outer bank of the first-named stream*, and a depression in the surface may still be noted, although it has long been vaulted over; and the ancient stream called "Cockey" now rushes down to the river, in some places thirteen feet beneath the pavement of the street.

I have traced these streams for great part of their course by the Great Roll of Deeds and Wills in the Corporation Record Room. By Henry the Fifth's time great part of the stream, rising at "Jack's Pit" near All Saints' Green, was arched over; and from that time it is at various points referred to as the "Cockey Lane," and not, as previously, "the Common or King's Ditch called the Cockey." For a part of the distance from its rise to Red Lion Street, it formed the boundary between the Conisford and Mancroft Wards, as well as a parish boundary between St. John's Timberhill and St. Stephen's.

Its existence was evidently known by Mr. Woodward, who erroneously makes its course much too far to the west, placing it along the east side of the market†—probably led astray by

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\* On the banks of this stream, at the corner of Dove Street, where now the shop of Messrs. Chamberlin stands, was an ancient tower, erected in the time of William Rufus, for what purpose it is not said, which was called the *Holl*, or Ditch Tor; and the adjoining lane, now Dove Street, was for centuries Holtor Lane. In excavating recently on the same premises, Roman urns were found at a considerable depth in the sand, some of which are now in the Norwich Museum.

† See Plans in Appendix to his *History of Norwich Castle*.

the positiveness of Wilkins' statement about the outer Castle ditch; but the abutments in ancient deeds furnish abundant evidence of its precise course, and I will subjoin a few of them in a note, marking particular points.\* It will be seen from them that it did not run into the market at all, but kept considerably east of it, and was really what Blomefield mistook for an outer ditch of the Castle at the point marked B.

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\* 13th Edward I. John Clerk, son of Adam Page, of Norwich, conveyed to John de Ronhale, chaplain, a vacant piece of land, which the said John acquired of William, son of Peter But, in Norwich, in the parish of St. Peter Mancroft, lying between messuage of Roger de Pentney towards the west, and the King's Way, which leads from the *Sellaria towards the County Court*, east and north, and abuts on land of Geoffrey de Bungay, south, to build thereon according to his will, as well over the cockey at the west end of the same piece of land as over the land itself, according to the tenor of a deed from the commonalty of Norwich to the said John Clerk, saving reasonable watercourses for the same cockey under the same without impediment.

3rd and 5th Edward III. The same land, by nearly similar description, conveyed to Nicholas le Palmer; the King's Way, north and east, being called Saddlegate.

21st Richard II. Conveyance to Reginald de Bungaye of two tenements standing between Saddlegate, north; Robert Drake's premises, south; the Market, west; and other tenements and the cockey, east.

The above deeds place the course of the cockey about the centre of the block of houses between Orford Hill and the Haymarket, running north; and the following more decidedly fixes the precise line:—

22nd Edward I. Peter de Bumpstede and Katherine, his wife, conveyed to Nigel de Foxlee, merchant, the mediety of a house the said Peter had built upon land acquired of our Lord the King, some time of Elias, the son of Elias the Jew; between the entry to the Jew's school in St. Peter Mancroft, and land of Geoffrey de Bungay, north; Richard le Boteman, south; the King's Market, west; and also the piece of land to the east of it, formerly of the same Elias, extending in length from the said house to the cockey, and in breadth from land which was the orchard of the Jew's school, south, to the house of the said Geoffrey de Bungay.

This is now the "Star" Inn, in the Haymarket; but it will be tedious to print more of these; suffice it to say, I have proofs of the course of this stream, from its rise at "Jack's Pit," All Saints' Green, till it flowed into the river by the side of the house of the Prior of Ronceval.



It again forms the boundary line between the parishes of St. Andrew and St. Peter Mancroft for some distance, until it crosses London Street, formerly Hosier Gate. If Mr. Wilkins' views had been correct, the outer ditch crossed Orford Hill from White Lion Street to Ber Street: a careful examination of the ground, which at this point lies conveniently open, will, I think, go far to convince any person that a ditch never existed there. A similar inspection of Pottergate Street, St. Andrew's Steps, &c., would be attended with a like result.



RESTORATION OF EARTHWORKS, 1853.

Having now in some measure cleared the ground, I proceed to place before my readers my own plan of these works, and a slight epitome of the evidence on which it is founded.

Were I to print the entire body of extracts from deeds and other documents having reference to this part of the subject, my whole volume would be filled with them.

It will be seen by my plan that the course of the houses and buildings *does* follow the line of ancient works in a remarkably faithful manner. We have the Castle Hill and its single ditch surrounding it, crossed by a bridge on the south, in front of which a large semi-circular space is enclosed with a bank and ditch: in the centre of this space, on a hill known in Kirkpatrick's time as "Garter Hill," existed from early times a massive structure, of which some ruins remained in the last century and are shown in Buck's View (1738). It was known as the County Court,\* afterwards as the Shirehouse,† and the land about it as the Shirehouse Green‡ and the Shirehouse Yard.§ Occasionally it is met with as the

\* 34th Edward I. Roger de Tudenham, clerk, and Isabella his wife, released to William Bateman, spicer, certain rents from tenements some time Robert Aurifaber's in St. John Berstrete, the site of which had the King's Way, west; the ditch of the *County Court*, east; and extends itself from the messuage of the said William, which was Robert Hirning's, to the messuage of William Pundreys.

† 12th Henry VI. . . . . to . . . . . a Garden in St. John Berstrete, lying between a common lane between the same garden and *le Shirehouse*, north; the garden of Thomas Cole, butcher, south; the garden of Thomas Ball, east; and a tenement of Thomas Ball, some time William Segors, west.

‡ 10th Henry VII. Robert Gyls, carpenter, and Isabella his wife to William Hyrde of Norwich, shereman, messuage, garden, &c., in St. Martin at Bailey, conveyed to them July 1st, 1st Edward IV., by John Medylton, between land called *le Shirehouse Green*, north; a common way, south; tenements of Edmund Culling, gentleman, and others, west; and a common lane, called *le Shirehouse Lane*, east.—(N.B. This was what is now Golden Ball Lane.)

§ 25th Henry VIII. John Griffiths to Robert Green, alderman, a messuage, &c., late Middleton's, afterward William Hyrde's, in St. Martin at

"Castellond;" and the Castle Fee and the ditch about it as the "Castle Ditch." \*

All the lanes leading into this part of the Castle Fee are invariably described in early deeds as leading to the County Court or to the Shirehouse, and not to the Castle. Golden Ball Lane is frequently referred to as the lane leading to the County Court and as Shirehouse Lane (see some of the previous notes). Rochester Lane and a narrow lane by the Castle Inn are described as lanes leading from Sadlers' Row, or Spurriers' Row, to the County Court or Shirehouse. †

Bailey, having the court called "Shirehouse Yard," north; tenement of William Munde, south; King's Way, west; and tenement formerly of Andrew Couper, then of Henry Griggs, east.

36th Henry VIII. Thomas Launcelot to Henry Albon, barber, messuage and garden, formerly Middleton's, afterward William Herd's, late Henry Brigg's, in St. Martin at Bailey, some time of John Griffiths, and two tenements, formerly of Henry Albon, senior, having Sherehouse Yard and King's Way, north, and King's Way, south, east, and west.

37th Henry VIII. Henry Albon to Thomas Brown (same description).

\* 13th Richard II. Ralph de Nekton and others, executors of Agnes Veyse, conveyed to William Segor and Mary his wife a messuage and garden in St. John Berstrete, next the messuage of Henry de Bovington, north; the King's Way, west; the garden of John Churchman, east; with liberty of entry and exit by the Postern Gate to the common place called "Castellond."

15th Richard II. A piece of land abutting upon the ground called "Castellond," north.

15th Richard II. The tenement in St. John Berstrete, some time Thomas Veyse, having land called "Castellond," north; tenements of Segor and Hardell, south; garden of Richard Colton, east; and tenement of John Maan, west.

† 34th Edward I. William Bateman, spicer, and Margaret his wife, to Richard de Bovington, a messuage, late Hirning's, in St. John Berstrete, between the messuage of the said Richard, south; a common way which leads to the County Court [Rochester Lane], north; the west head abuts on the King's Way, and the east head upon the County Court.

13th Edward I. John Clerk, son of Adam Page, of Norwich, conveyed to John de Ronhale, chaplain, a piece of waste land which the said John Clerk purchased of William, son of Peter But, in the parish of St. Peter of

The banks and ditches had been partially built upon long before our records begin ;\* and on the east side is a narrow lane, the houses at the north corner of which were given in 1719 by a Mr. Gillians to trustees, for an annual stipend to

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Mancroft, lying between the messuage of Roger de Pentneye, west; the King's Way which leads from Sellaria to the County Court, east and north; and land of Geoffrey de Bungaye, south.

15th Edward I. Robert de St. Edmund, goldsmith, and Agnes his wife, to Roger de Tudenham, clerk, and Isabella his wife, certain annual rents from his messuage in St. John Berstrete, between messuage of William le Pundreys, south; the way which leads to the County Court, north; and extends from Berstrete to the ditch of the County Court.

23rd Edward I. Robert de St. Edmunds, goldsmith, and Agnes his wife, to William, son of Adam le Spicer, a messuage in St. John Berstrete in the Castle Fee, between messuage of William le Pundreys, south; a common way leading to the County Court, north; the King's Way, west; and the ditch of the County Court, east.

"On Childermass day there were much people at Norwich at the Shire (*County Court*), because it was noised in the Shire that the undersheriff had a Writ to make a new election, wherefore the people was grieved because they had laboured so often saying to the Sheriff that he had the Writ, and plainly that he should not away unto the time the Writ were read. The Sheriff answered and said that he had no writ, nor wist who had it, hereupon the people peaced (*became peaceable*) and stilled unto the time the Shire was done, and after that done the people called upon him, 'kill him, head him,' and so John Damme, with the help of others, gat him out of the Shirehouse and with much labour brought him unto Spurrier Row, and there the people met him again, and so they avoided him into a house and kept fast the door unto the time the Mayor was sent for, and the Sheriff to strengthen him, and to convey him away, or else he had been slain.

"Richard Call to John Paston.

"28th December,

"St. Thomas' Day between 1450 and 60."

*Paston Letters*, Vol. III., p. 151.

\* The King gives and concedes to William de Bateman, of Norwich, a place in Norwich by him built in our Castle Fee, and one other place there of the ruined fosses of the Castle aforesaid, and a certain other place there to the said waste place adjoining, to hold for ever at a rent of 12*d.*—*Originalia*, 33rd Edward I., Roll 14, Vol. I., p. 144.

the preachers of sermons at the Cathedral, as recorded on his monument in the church of St. John Maddermarket. These houses are there described to be at Sherrod's Gap, a clear corruption of Shirehouse Gap, as will be seen from a note of a deed relating to property in that lane.\*

In 1345 the citizens petitioned the King to grant the Castle Fee to them; to which a counter petition of the Sheriff of the county was prepared, in which he states, "there is a place *annexed*, and from all time has been, which is called 'Castellond,' joining to the said Castle; that it was always out of city jurisdiction, and the residents in which performed castle guard." An inquisition (*ad quod damnum*) having been taken, the King (Edward III.) granted a charter to the Bailiffs of the city, for them and their successors to have jurisdiction in all places inhabited about the ditches of the Castle, which were of the fee of the Castle, such places to be as other places and tenements of the citizens in the city; *the house called the Shirehouse*, where the Common Pleas of the county were held, alone excepted. From that time the city has exercised jurisdiction upon this ground; the assizes and courts for the county continuing to be held in the shirehouse to the time of Elizabeth, when it was partially destroyed, and a new one built amongst the ruins on the hill, north of the great tower of the Castle.

The Castle gate must have been at the foot of the present bridge; and the city let out the ground between it and the old Shirehouse, for booths at the time of assizes or sessions, generally to the gaoler: the receipts are accounted for in the Corporation Accounts as being for booths † "at the Shire-

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\* 24th Henry VIII. William Branch conveyed to Thomas Brown a tenement, &c., in St. Martin at Bailey, having Thomas Godsolve's garden, north; the Shirehouse Gapp, south; King's Way, east; and the Castle Ditch, west.

† Of Robert Brown 4s. for ferme off bothes ayens the Shirehouse and Castle Gate, 1537.

house;" between the Shirehouse and Castle gate;"\* and "before the Castle gate."†

Along the ditch of the Castle land, on the south side, next the Church of St. John Timberhill, and along its eastern side, was a small exempt jurisdiction of the governor of the Castle, called the Bailey or Bailiffwick; and also over it (for it must have been filled up at a very early period). Here resided those who (in the language of the Sheriff's petition, tempore Edward III.) "every one pay a certain farm to the Sheriff in the King's right of his crown; and also every one is charged to perform a certain garde (ward) in a certain place of the said Castle, where need shall be; and therefore they were the first inhabited and exempted from the citizens of the said city." Here was the church of St. Martin at Bailey, where those who died in the Castle had sepulture, and through it, from Ber Street to Conesford Street, ran a way called in early deeds Berningham or Barningham Stile.‡ And in this district, I should judge, were the "mansuræ," stated in *Doomsday* to be in the "occupation" of the Castle.

In the confirmation by Henry I. of the grant by Bishop Herbert to the Priory, the church of St. John at Timberhill

\* 2s. 4d. of Edmund Cully for leave to place booths next the house called the Shirehouse in the time of Sessions, 1484.

† Item, received of Bryan Dorount for the last half-year's ferme of the groundes withoute the Castle Gate to set bothes there in the time of Assize and Sessions, 1490, 2s. 6d.

‡ 21st Henry VII. Robert Alman, goldsmith, conveyed to Thomas Clerk, goldsmith, a garden in St. Martin at Bailey, some time of Robert Roo, skinner, between a common lane called Bernyngham Style, east; the Castle Ditch, west and south; and a garden, some time of Robert Pulham, afterward John Aubreys, now Thomas Aldrich, alderman, north.

9th Henry V. The Mayor, &c., grants to Robert Roo a garden, a piece of the common land of the city in St. Martin's at Bailey, between a common lane called Barningham Style, east; the Castle Ditch, west and south; and a garden of Robert Pulham, candeler, north.

is called "St. John at the Castle gate;"\* and Kirkpatrick mentions that among the Cathedral evidences (to which I have been denied access) lands and houses are mentioned "before the gate of the Castle."†

The Castle Bailey being enclosed, a gate no doubt stood at the top of Barningham Stile, and may well have caused the church to be described as "at the Castle gate;" and the tenements in St. Martin in the Bailey might be truly said to be "before the Castle gate;" even with reference to that on the existing bridge, there is no necessity for imagining three banks and three ditches for the purpose of explanation. Kirkpatrick gives no particulars of the deeds he names, so that it is impossible to do more than conjecture where the tenements conveyed by them were situate.

East of the Castle Hill in my plan will be seen another inclosure, with a bank and ditch surrounding it. Although both are now nearly destroyed, portions of the ditch may be discovered among the surrounding houses and gardens, and the space still retains the name of the "Castle Meadow." It may be traced in a garden in Bank Street, in the Griffin yard, and in a garden between that place and a large recently-built house opposite the shirehall, and much trouble was caused in the erection of the latter by the difficulty of getting a good foundation. Again it will be seen between the houses in Pump Street and Mr. Wells' stables, and the "Shirehall" tavern is built in it. Pump Street runs from King Street westerly for some distance, when it divides, one branch going in the direction of St. John's Timberhill, Ber Street (Barningham Stile, see page 127), and the other with a gentle curve to the hill by the side of the Shirehall tavern. The buildings between this and the Castle Meadow are anciently described as abutting, south, on the *King's Way to the*

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\* *Liber Cartarum et Placitorum*—Corporation Records.

† Kirkpatrick, p. 243.

*Castle*; north, on the Castle Meadow.\* A few of the abutments of property surrounding the meadow are given in a note.†

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\* 2nd Richard II. Edward de Thirne to Bartholomew de Appelyard, an annual rent from a messuage in St. Peter de Parmentergate, lying between tenement of Thomas Reder and the ditch of the Castle Meadow, north; the King's Way, south; Upper Conesford, east; and tenement some time of Thomas Ladde, west.

4th Richard II. John Elys, parson of Lingwood, to John de Welles (same).

30th Edward I. Simon, son of Seman Wrinel, to Katherine, daughter of Thomas de Hekyngham, an annual rent from a piece of land, with the appurtenances, in St. Peter de Parmenterigate, lying between the King's Way which leads from Conesford to the Castle of Norwich, north; land of said Katherine, south; east head on Conesford; west head on land of Richard de Melton.

10th Henry V. John Frend and Agnes his wife to John Preston, a messuage and two shops in St. Peter Parmentergate, and garden some time Thomas Ladde's, tenement some time of Thomas Cole and the Castle Meadow, north; King's Way leading from Conesford to the Castle, south and west; tenement some time Master Thomas de Redham, then of Robert Clerk, wright, east.

11th Richard II. Roger Gregory, plomer, and Johanna his wife, to Thomas Gibbes, textor, a messuage, two shops and one garden, adjoining, some time of Thomas Ladde, in St. Peter de Parmentergate, in Upper Conesford, between tenement some time of Thomas Cole and the Castle Meadow of Norwich, north; King's Way leading from Conesford to the Castle, south; King's Way, west; tenement of William de Thirne, east.

6th Elizabeth. John Rudlond conveyed to John Bexwell a messuage and garden in St. Peter Conesford; King's Way, south; the *common pasture*, called Castell Medowe; north; King's Way, west; and a garden some time Ward's, before Adamson's, east.

† 19th Richard II. Adam de Colton to John Frend and Agnes his wife, a messuage in St. Peter de Parmentergate, in the Castle Fee, abutting upon the Ditch of the Castle Meadow, north; King's Way, south; tenement of said John and Agnes, west; and tenement of Master Thomas de Rudham, east.

9th Henry VII. William Clough, mason, and Isabella his wife, to John Cokkes and Margaret his wife, a tenement and piece of land in St. Cuthbert's, some time Agnes Nooth's, late William Bishop's, between a tenement of said Clough, south; tenement of John Herdeler, north; Conisford, east; and abutting upon the Meadow of the Castle of Norwich, west.

9th Henry VII. John Hirdeler, cordwainer, and Cecily his wife, to



The very name of *Castle Meadow* would naturally suggest grave doubts that a piece of land, occupied by two huge banks and ditches, could, on their being levelled, acquire such a name. The Castle Land or the Castle Fee would not have been so open to doubt; but the Castle Meadow indicates a piece of pasture land in nearly a primitive condition. The houses around it encircle it in a peculiar fashion, approaching at two points very nearly to the Castle Ditch, and, if Mr. Wilkins were correct, in a very unaccountable manner. But he states he saw some traces of the banks and ditches twenty years before he wrote, which were then levelled. There can be little doubt that what he refers to was a part of the bank and ditch of the meadow. So late as 1704 there was no way into Conisford or King Street between the "Griffin" and the Suffragan's tenements, now the office of Messrs. Foster and Co.,\* for in that year a piece of the meadow and ditch near that point was granted by the city to certain parties, the only mode of getting to which from King Street was

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William Ketyll, all that messuage and curtilage, with a house called a kitchen, with a chimney in same, in St. Cuthbert, some time William Fithells, chaplain, messuage of John Owdolf, chaplain, afterwards of Robert Hoo, north; William Clough, south; Castle Meadow, west; and Conesford, east.

12th Henry VII. William Ketyll to John Laund (same).

1st Henry IV. William Blacomore and Margaret his wife to Geoffrey de Bixton, two tenements, some time of Thomas Tingill and Sibill Bray, in St. Cuthbert, between tenement some time of Adam Hadescoo, east; tenement of Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity, west; abutting upon the meadow of the Castle, south; and King's Way, north.

7th Henry IV. William Appelyard and Margaret his wife to Thomas Ingham, mercer, tenement in St. Michael at Plea, between the tenement of Thomas Peyntour, carpenter, west; tenement of Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, east; King's Way, north; and upon land called the Castle Meadow, south.

\* 30th Henry VIII. Thomas Bathcomer, gravour, and Margaret his wife, to John Underwood, Bishop of Caladon, five messuages in St. Mary Little, between messuage of the Cathedral, west; the Castle Meadow, south and west; the sign of the "Griffone," south; and King's Way, north and east.

through the gateway of the Griffin yard. This gateway, now stopped up, may be seen in the wall of the Griffin Inn. The levelling to which Mr. Wilkins no doubt refers took place when the new road was made through the meadow into King Street, opposite Messrs. Harveys and Hudson's bank. This is the opening which Mr. Wilkins takes as the direction of the path from the postern gate, but I find no notice of any such path; and as the narrow lane leading from the north-west corner of the meadow to the Redwell is referred to in old deeds as a King's Way to the Castle, this, no doubt, was the course of it. It led directly through Queen Street to the site of the ancient palace of the Earls of East Anglia.

And in order fully to understand the arrangements of these earthworks, it should be stated that Conisford, Konigsforth, or King Street, is clearly one of the most ancient ways in the city, if not the most ancient. The churches still stand thickly along it, and many have been removed. Among them, St. Etheldred, St. Julian, St. Cuthbert, St. Olave, St. Ethelbert, and St. Vedast, suggest a very ancient foundation; and the ancient church of St. Michael, on Tombland, was destroyed when Herbert built the Cathedral. No street in the city bears traces of such ancient occupation as this, except Westwick; and I therefore incline to believe that the way referred to above, by Pump Street, is the most ancient route to the Castle.

I have now only to refer to the London Lane or north side of the Castle works. The ditch and bank of the meadow, from Gurney's bank to St. Andrew's Steps, must have been levelled before Henry the Seventh's time, for at that period the space was common land, with a road called Castle Dike running over it from Queen Street to Cutler Row, which commenced at St. Andrew's Steps and ran thence to the market, but which gradually crept along easterly; and later we find houses referred to as in Cutler Row, considerably to the east of St. Andrew's Steps. The ascent from Cutler

Row to the outer edge of the present ditch was very steep; and before Kirkpatrick's time, and in the memory of persons with whom he conversed, what is now a broad roadway round the Castle ditch was a narrow footway along its side, and dangerous even for foot passengers.

The mass of notes of Deeds relating to this point is so large, and the subdivision of property from time to time renders them so intricate, that I must content myself with saying, there is scarcely a house in the whole length of Cutler Row, on the side next the Castle, of which the title from an early period is not extant.

In the plans prepared by the late Mr. Woodward, annexed to his *History of the Castle*, the Castle earthworks are represented according to the plan suggested by Wilkins. They all contain the fundamental error of placing the stream called the Cockey far too much to the west, except in an outline on a large scale, where its true course is shown nearly accurately by dotted lines. The Castle is represented completely surrounded by three ditches on the plans of the several periods of 1030, 1100, 1300, 1556. In that of 1500 they are partially obliterated on the north side.

Now as the entire basis of Mr. Wilkins' theory, as to the third ditch, rested on the depression observable in Davey Place, it is necessary to repeat that such depression indicated the course of the cockey, and that in Mr. Woodward's plan of 1300 it is represented as passing west of the Jewry, whereas, as I have shown by the City Records, it passed to the east of it. The enrolments begin in 1272, and at that time the whole of the space round the Castle, at present occupied by buildings, except a piece of waste from St. Andrew's Steps in St. Andrew's to the Suffragan's tenements in St. Michael at Plea, which was granted to various parties in the 16th Henry VI., was thickly covered with buildings. The way called Sellaria extends quite across Wilkins' outer ditch, as do Hosier Gate and Potter Gate;

whilst in that part of the presumed outer ditch next St. John's, Ber Street, were an ancient tenement (recovered from the mayor of the Jews in Henry the Third's time) and the house of Bateman the spicer, to whom Edward the First granted a ruined bank adjoining and part of the Castle Fee in his 15th year.

I allude to these errors with no desire to detract from the great merits of the lamented author of the plans: it is surprising, considering the shortness of his life, what a large amount of valuable information he has afforded us, not only about the antiquities of this county, but also as to its geology. He had, in forming these particular plans, to rely very much on what Blomefield had collected on the subject, and I have before pointed out the manner in which he and others were misled. The great value of the plans makes it necessary to show in what particulars they are inaccurate.

Having, I trust, established the accuracy of the new plan of the Castle earthworks, placed before my readers in a previous page, I would beg them to compare it with other plans in this volume and with those of earthworks of indubitably ancient formation in other parts of the kingdom. Compare the plan with those of Rising, Castle Acre, Buckenham, Castle Hedingham, Clare, and numerous others, in all which the principal features are a circular or oval work, with one of a horse-shoe form attached. In my paper on Castle Acre I have given my reasons for believing this class of works to be British; and in that case, I presume to think, I have placed it beyond a possibility of doubt.

It has been objected to this idea, that if the Romans had held so important a position as Norwich, they would have left some traces of their occupation in the shape of massive fortifications. To this objection it may be answered, that the Roman stronghold at Caister seems clearly to have been erected because they could not obtain possession of Norwich until very late in their operations in the district, and that by

the time they possessed themselves of the city, the British power was completely broken up, and there was no further necessity for fortresses. However, it is useless to speculate on what may have been built by Roman, Saxon, or Dane: the buildings and fragments which remain are wholly referable to the Norman period.

William the Conqueror undoubtedly caused the erection of many castles, and this of Norwich was built early in his reign;\* for in 1074, Ralph Guader, then constable of it, having revolted whilst the king was in Normandy, it was besieged, and shortly after surrendered by his wife, whom he had left in charge of it.

The Castle of the Conqueror must have been built wholly on the circular work, the banks of which were levelled for the purpose, and probably an addition was made to the height of the mound.

The hill was encircled with walls and towers, of which some remained in 1581, when the view of the city was published by Braun in his *Theatrum urbium orbis Terrarum*.† A portion of this view is engraved on the next page.

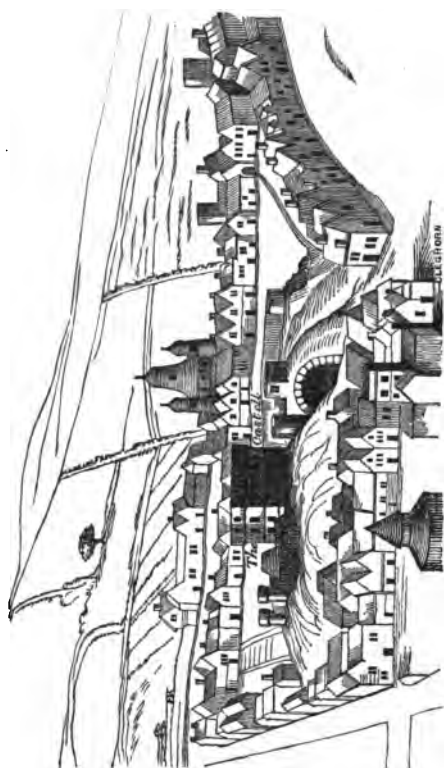
Although I have spoken of the hill as a circular work, it was very irregular in its form, as will be seen in Cleer's map, p. 128; and Kirkpatrick speaks of it as, in his time, very nearly square—"the four sides of it respecting the four cardinal points of the compass."‡ This squareness, however, may have been given it when the walls were erected.

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\* Sir Henry Ellis points out the following passage in Lanfranc's first letter to the Earl of Hereford on the rebellion, as showing that William relied mainly on the strength of his castles for the preservation of his power: "et nos omnes, sicut fideles suos, in quibus magnam fiduciam habet, et mandat ut quantum possumus curam habeamus de castellis suis, ne quod Deus avertat, inimicis suis traduntur."—Ellis's *Original Letters*, 3rd Series, Vol. I.

† The strange-looking building in the distance, with three towers, was the Austin Friars: the churches to the right of it appear to be intended for St. Martin's in the Bailey and St. John Timberhill.

‡ Kirkpatrick, p. 240.



FROM BRAUN'S VIEW OF NORWICH, 1841.

The only fragments now remaining of the Norman buildings are the bases of two towers, one on each side of the top of the bridge, the arch of the bridge, and the great tower,—this latter shorn of much of its interest and value by the “restoration” of the whole of its exterior a few years ago.

All vestiges of halls and lodgings, chapel, kitchens, and offices are swept away; and so strong has been the mania for alteration, that even buildings erected within a century have shared the same fate. Even the mouldering walls of the great tower could not escape, and after the interior had been completely “gutted,” and a series of brick cells constructed within it, the exterior has been at a large expense entirely refaced,—stone for stone, it is said. The faithfulness of the restoration may be judged from the fact, that the basement was before of rubble, and is now of freestone.

The Bridge is of the original span, but has also been refaced with flints and finished with white brick quoining. The gate-house which stood upon the centre of it, as seen in Braun’s view, and fragments of which remained so late as the time Buck’s view was taken (1741), was shortly after completely destroyed.

The Wall round the Castle Hill, fragments of which existed in Kirkpatrick’s time, was certainly not the original Norman one, for he talks of its being “of brick and stone, the bricks very large.”\* It was, however, very likely to have been erected on the Norman foundations.

The Great Tower stands on the south-west part of the hill, the stairs of entrance on the eastern side being nearly opposite the way over the bridge. It is nearly square, being 92 feet by 96 feet, the greater length being from east to west. The walls were, as is so frequently the case, composed of stone from the nearest quarries, those of Northamptonshire, faced with Caen stone.† The surface of the lower compart-

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\* Kirkpatrick, p. 240.

† Woodward, p.13.

ments, on the west and south sides of the exterior, was of faced flints (this facing has entirely disappeared in the restoration), and as it was not a mode of construction of the Norman period, this peculiarity may fairly be put down to repairs two or three centuries later.

The exterior appearance of this tower is so well known from engravings, and Mr. Woodward has given so minute and careful an account of it,\* that I need do no more than state that the basement story was plain, and was in his time of common faced flint-work, with small loops at regular intervals, and above that to the battlements were a series of arcades of Norman arches of a plain and effective character.

In the lower arcade, on the south side, a corbel stone in the form of a lion's head, set very oddly in the third panel, puzzled Mr. Woodward and many others, but an inspection of the interior of the wall would have enlightened them on the subject: it is the vent of a drain from a small arched niche in the interior.

The north side differs from the others in having six buttresses instead of five; and Mr. Woodward conjectures, with great probability, as a large hall occupied great part of that side of the tower, that it was original, and intended to give additional strength to the wall.†

The entrance was through a tower on the eastern side, as at Rising, with stairs running up to it from nearly the south-east angle of the great tower.

This entrance tower was "restored" by Mr. Wilkins, and received from him the name of *Bigod's Tower*. It had been terribly treated before his time, as will be seen by Mr. King's description of it in 1776,‡ and the engraving on the next page, from a sketch of it made ten years after. Mr. Wilkins' restoration effectually put an end to any investigation of the

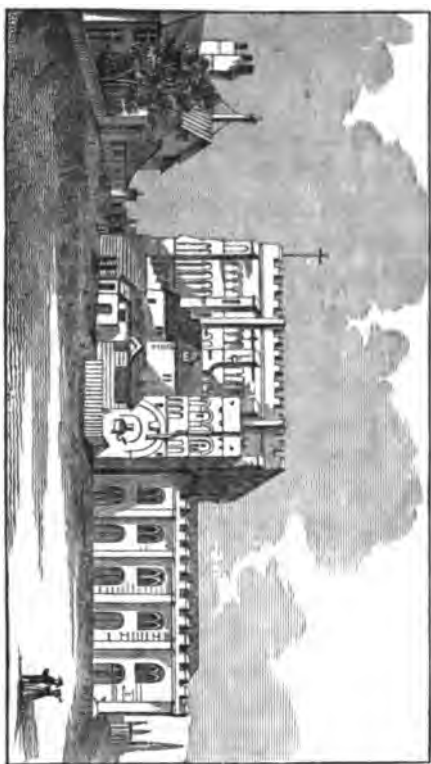
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\* Woodward, pp. 13—17.

† Ibid. p. 15.

‡ Observations on Ancient Castles—*Archæologia*. Vol. IV. p. 399.





NORWICH CASTLE AND SESSIONS HOUSE, 1794.

1. Governor's House.

2. Entrance.

3. Debtors' Entrance.

4. Debtors' Gate.

5. Fellow's Gate.

correctness of his own and Mr. King's impressions concerning its original appearance.

It appears to have consisted of two floors: the upper forming a vestibule to the grand entrance; the lower having this "great singularity"—"for," says Mr. King, "under the vestibule was originally an open arch and a vaulted room, or rather recess, left quite exposed to the area before the Castle, its roof or ceiling being richly decorated with intersecting arches. Notwithstanding, however, its seeming so light and airy, it was by no means a weak part of the building; for the side walls of this recess are of extraordinary strength, and the wall at the back of it, adjoining to the Castle, is eleven feet thick."\* And Mr. Wilkins' description agrees with this.† I must still regret that we have not been permitted to judge of the correctness of these descriptions: it is difficult to imagine a vault of this kind left perfectly open on the eastern side. At Rising, there is a large blank arch like that in the interior here, but the exterior wall of the entrance tower is built up solid. The view above certainly confirms the statement of a large arch in the external wall; but there must surely have been some additional building into which it opened, and access to which was obtained from a passage (still existing) out of the great tower under the staircase, a little to the left of the entrance tower.

The grand entrance to the great tower, on the upper floor, is a very remarkable specimen of Early Norman. One large arch spanning the space encloses a large, elaborately ornamented doorway and a smaller one to the right of it. Mr. Woodward carefully describes this entrance, and it is beautifully figured in his work.‡ I disagree with him in the de-

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\* King's Observations—*Archæologia*, Vol. IV., p. 400.

† Wilkins' Essay—*Archæologia*, Vol. XII.

‡ Woodward, p. 17.

scription of one of the capitals (which are all of a "sporting" character): "the second on the right contains a monstrous figure," he says, "a human body with extended arms attached to the bodies of two lions." I see the human figure with extended arms in the centre; but the figure on the right is a dog seizing the throat of an animal on the left, whose legs are effectually secured with ropes. Another subject, which he believed to be the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb, appears to me to represent a wild animal turning upon the dog, which is endeavouring to get away.

The interior of the great tower must, from what remains to indicate its arrangements, have been, as I have said in my account of Rising, extremely like the great tower there, although on a larger scale. The dungeons in the basement are more numerous than they are there; the wall of division from east to west is here in the centre, and there were four dungeons in the southern space instead of two; but on the northern side the arrangement must have been exactly the same.

The upper floor is almost identical in arrangement; and if the division wall were placed in the centre, the plan of that floor in the account of Rising might very nearly serve for this.

The grand entrance from "Bigod's Tower" opened into a large and lofty hall, lighted by four windows in the north wall, a gallery running in the thickness of this wall and terminating in a recess with a flue of the same character as that at Rising, although larger. The cloacæ and pantries are in the same position; the long room on the south side has a fire-place, and there is a passage in the south wall, from the south-west staircase, having a sort of "hatch" into that apartment in both places.

The room at the south-east angle is called here the "Chapel;" and I believe the room at Rising obtained that name from its position being identical with this. It certainly

cannot be the King's Free Chapel of St. Nicholas "in the Castle;" and I incline to the belief that Kirkpatrick was right in placing that chapel in the same position as the ruined chapel at Rising; and I conclude this to have been considered as the Chapel of St. Nicholas in consequence of the erroneous idea so very prevalent, that the great tower contained all the principal apartments of the Castle. Although Kirkpatrick mentions that the building existing in his time to the north of the great tower, and which he believed to be the Chapel of St. Nicholas, had "buttresses like those of a church," I cannot agree with Mr. Woodward that the fact of the buttresses being there was fatal to its being the original chapel;\* for the shallow Norman buttresses may have been added to in after times, especially if any additional height were given to the walls.

There is no trace on the wall of this room of sedilia, piscina, or altar, and they can hardly have been removed without leaving some trace of their having existed: the wall in that part of the room where these must have been placed remains almost uninjured. The rude carvings in the south-east recess, strangely called an "Altar Piece," are clearly the efforts of some unfortunate prisoner to beguile the time. There are the Virgin, St. Katherine, and St. Christopher, and a mutilated figure, with something very like a gallows by his side. There are other and still ruder efforts, which Mr. Woodward thought might have been brought from other parts of the building, but the stones are assuredly in their original position. Amongst all these, however, St. Nicholas does not appear.

The tower had two roofs of rather high pitch, extending east and west, the external wall to the depth of the two upper arcades of arches masking them.

The well was not placed, as at Rising, in the centre of the

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\* Woodward, p. 20.

northern division of the basement, but in the division wall near the western side.

The passage in the wall, which commences at the north-west angle, does not terminate at the "kitchen" as at Rising, but runs round the entire building, communicating with every window of any width. It rises six steps in the southern wall in passing by the room with a fire-place to the "chapel," a fact which tends to confirm my opinion, that a principal object of such passages was to open or close the shutters of the windows; for by this rise, the long narrow slits, which never had any protection of the kind, were avoided, and the passage communicated with the larger windows above, which must have had some protection of the kind.\*

The old Shirehouse which stood in the southern enclosure, and gave its ancient name to it, was disused in the time of Elizabeth, when one was built on the top of the hill against a fragment of the enceinte wall, which then remained on the south-eastern side to the right of the bridge. Fragments of it remained in Kirkpatrick's time, and are shown in the foreground in Buck's view of the Castle (1738). It must have been a small mean building, and in a dilapidated condition in very early times. The sheriffs were frequently repairing it, and I gather from one of the accounts, that, although it was called the "King's Hall," it was thatched.† It has long

\* See Castle Acre Priory, p. 113.

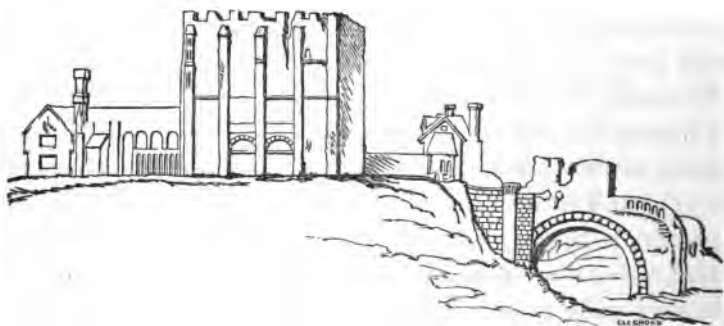
† Particulars of the Account of William Hopton, Esquire, some time Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, for payments made on the reparation of the King's Hall, called the Shirehouse, &c.

6th Edward IV., &c. Repac de le sherhows.

Inp'mis, iiij lod ston'	. . . . .	xiiij <sup>d</sup>
Itm. iij chalder lym	. . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
Itm. iij lodys sand	. . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup>
It. iij laborers xiiij dayes	. . . . .	xiiij <sup>s</sup>
It. iiij <sup>s</sup> & d'i de Reed	. . . . .	iiij <sup>u</sup>
It. paid to the Reder	. . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
It. for a dore hoke and henge & naylis	. . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
It. for a lode cley	. . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup>

ago entirely disappeared, and its site is now occupied by the sheep-pens of the Cattle Market.

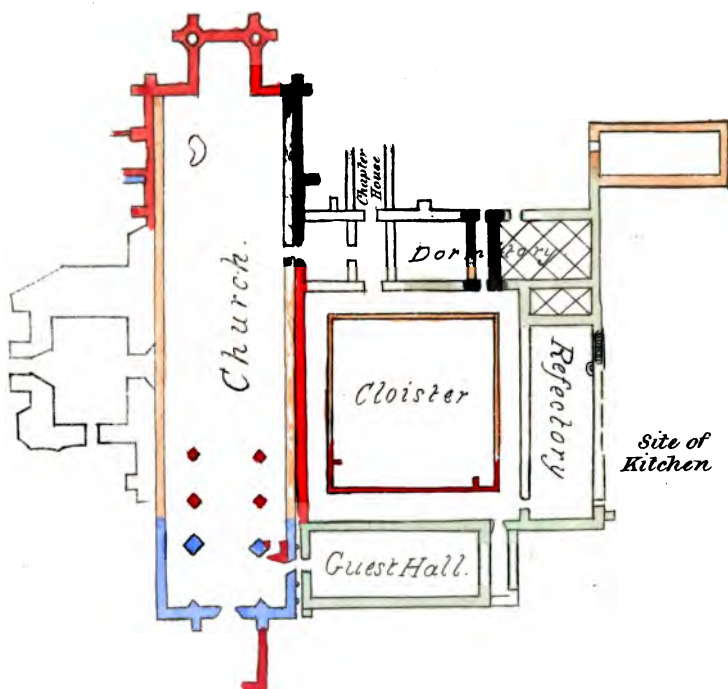
Although so much has been done to destroy the remains of the Castle of Norwich, there is still a great deal left to excite the inquiry and exercise the ingenuity of the archæologist. It is much to be desired that the hand of the destroyer may be stayed and no further destruction permitted, either by the utilitarian or the "restorer."



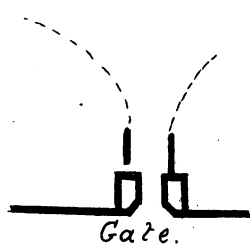
FROM A MEZZOTINT ENGRAVING IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,  
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.



Walls



Scale of Feet  
100 200 ft



■ Norman.  
■ Early English.  
■ Decorated.  
■ Perpendicular.  
■ M<sup>r</sup> Grannans Survey.

WALSINGHAM PRIORY. Google



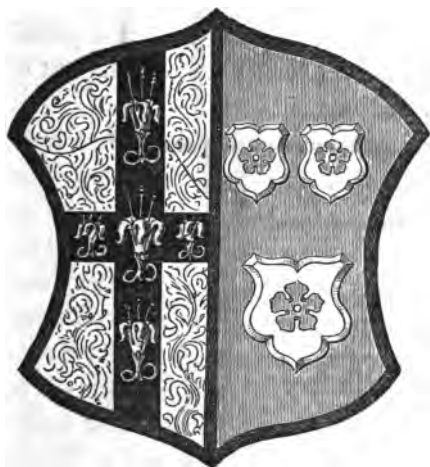
## Walsingham Priory.

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" Bitter, bitter, oh ! to behould  
The grass to growe  
Where the walls of Walsingham  
So stately did shoue !  
• • • • •

" Level, level with the ground  
The towres doe lye,  
Which, with their golden glittering tops,  
Peared oute to the skye."  
• • • • •

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THE present excellent proprietor of Walsingham, the Rev. D. H. Lee Warner, having given permission to his nephew, Mr. Jas. Lee Warner and myself, to make some excavations on the site of the Priory in 1853, it was my intention to lay the result of them before my readers in this volume. And although Mr. J.

Lee Warner has given the Archæological Institute an account of these and subsequent excavations in the *Journal*,\* it may still be expected that I should make some observations upon

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\* Vol. XIII., p. 115.

them and upon the result of my search amongst records; and I am more strongly impelled to do so, as I conceive I shall be enabled by the latter to add a little new information on the subject; and, as frequently happens in such cases, there is a little difference of opinion between us as to the results of the excavations.

Mr. Lee Warner brought to the notice of the Archæological Institute an anonymous ballad in the Pepysian Library bearing internal evidence of having been composed about 1460, which cannot be accepted as very strong evidence of the fact to which it refers. It undoubtedly relates very faithfully what was the tradition at that time of the foundation of the Priory; and the statement with which it commences, that the chapel was built

“A thousand complete sixty and one,  
The tyme of Saint Edwarde, King of this region,”

gives truly, I have no doubt, what the canons of that period believed to be the true date; but it will not stand the test of comparison with documents of earlier date.

The lady who founded the far-famed Chapel of the Virgin was Richoldie, the mother of Geoffrey de Favrachas: the foundation deed of the Priory in the cartulary is decisive on the point. By that deed, Geoffrey, on the day he departed on pilgrimage for Jerusalem, granted to God and St. Mary and to Edwy his clerk *the chapel which his mother Richeldis had built at Walsingham*, together with the church of All Saints of the same town, and all their appurtenances, as well in lands as in tithes, rents, and services, and divers other lands, to the intent that the said Edwy should found a Priory there.\*

Robert de Brucurt and Roger Earl of Clare, by their deeds in the same cartulary, give additional lands to God

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\* *New Monasticon*, Vol. VI., p. 73. Wals. Regr., Cotton, Nero, E vii., fol. 7.

and our Lady and the Canons of Walsingham ; and the deed of the latter alludes to the chapel in the same terms as that of Geoffrey.

All these gifts appear to have been made in the time of William Turbus, Bishop of Norwich from 1146 to 1174; and assuming the Priory to have been founded early in that period, it is scarcely possible Richoldie de Favraches could have founded a chapel here before the Conquest.

There is in the cartulary, on the dorse of one of the leaves, a list of the Priors, which has been unaccountably overlooked by the editors of the *New Monasticon* and other writers about Walsingham, giving the number of years each prior held office, and places Ralph as the first prior, the date of his election being, as nearly as can be judged from the evidence afforded by the list, about 1183. It commences "From the entry of the Canons into the Church of Walsingham, to the death of Ralph, first prior, twenty years elapsed." (Appendix A.) This list is authenticated by the fact, that William Lowth, there stated to be the eighteenth prior, is so styled upon a door made in his time at the prior's Norwich house, which will be referred to hereafter, and the same numeration occurs in the list of the Canons in the same cartulary, which I have given in Appendix B.

Although the succession of priors in the list is therefore in some considerable degree authenticated, there is undoubtedly some inaccuracy in the number of years each is stated to have held the dignity; for Ralph cannot, according to the list, have been prior earlier than 1183, although, in the deed of Roger Earl of Clare, he appears so; and William Turbus, Bishop of Norwich, who died in 1174, is one of the parties to that deed.

Whatever uncertainty may still exist about the precise date of the construction of the chapel, there can be none as to its having been the great source of attraction which drew pilgrims from all parts, and made the Priory one of the richest

in the world.\* Almost from the foundation of the Priory up to the dissolution, there was one unceasing movement of pilgrims to and from Walsingham. The Virgin's milk and other attractions were from time to time added; but the image of the Virgin in the small chapel, "in all respects like to the *Santa Casa* at Nazareth, where the Virgin was saluted by the angel Gabriel," was the original, and continued to the dissolution the primary, object of the pilgrim's visit.

It will be seen from the plan that large additions and alterations were made in the buildings from time to time, and that even in the small portion still left every period of English architecture is represented.

A passage at the south-east corner of the cloisters is the only remnant of Norman work *in situ*; but the arch now at the wells was removed from the buildings south of the refectory not very many years ago, and is of Transition character, being circular-headed with Norman shafts, and Early English mouldings with the dog-tooth ornament.

I consider the west end of the church, recently excavated, to be of the Early English period, although I have here the misfortune to differ from my friend Mr. Lee Warner. I conceive the manner in which the bases of the columns are under-cut is quite at variance with the character of the Decorated style, to which he assigns them; and the bases and shafts of an external arcade on the south side of the west end as particularly Early English in character. It may be thought, as Mr. Lee Warner calls them Early Decorated and I assign them to a late date in the Early English period, that it is therefore of very little importance; but there are certain distinctive characteristics of each style, which I submit it is very

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\* Roger Ascham, when visiting Cologne in 1550, makes this remark: "The three kings be not so rich, I believe, as was the Lady of Walsingham."—Notes to the *Pilgrimage of Erasmus*, by J. G. Nichols, p. 242.

important should not be suffered to get into confusion, or in a short time all our landmarks may be again lost.

The refectory and dormitory crypt to the east of it are of pure Decorated character, somewhere about the time of Walter, the tenth prior. Cotman has engraved the reading



WEST END OF REFECTORY.

pulpit in the former, but there is a far better representation of it in the Norwich volume of the Archæological Institute. The west end had a noble window, which Mr. Lee Warner has lately restored, and of which an accurate view is given in the engraving on the preceding page. In the south wall, to the left in the view, the original buttery hatch remains.

The crypt or cellar under the southern part of the dormitory is very perfect, and had an entrance, now blocked up, on the east side.

The chapter-house and the rest of the buildings on the east side of the cloister have been demolished, but Mr. Lee Warner has been enabled to trace the foundations with sufficient clearness to be marked upon the plan.

The east end of the church, the only portion of it remaining aboveground, is very well known by engravings. The two lofty stair turrets, with external buttresses covered with niches and canopies of beautiful tracery, having the arch of the east window and the gable above it pierced with a small circular window, must be familiar to every Norfolk reader.

The date of the construction of this east end is at once assigned, by the well-marked character of the architecture, to the Early Perpendicular period; and the list of Canons in Appendix B. completely confirms the architectural evidence. The first name in that list is John Snoring, thirteenth prior, 1384; immediately succeeding whom is "John Jerningham, otherwise Wariner, sub-prior and principal aid about the construction of our church."

The excavations at this point having been made by Mr. James Lee Warner since I had the opportunity of assisting in them, I may be permitted to quote his description of them from the paper before alluded to.\*

"The first desideratum was to assign to the ground-plan of the choir its true form and dimensions. The title of Vander-

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\* *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XIII., p. 122.

gucht's engraving of this part of the building, 'Cænobii Walsinghamensis quod reliquum est, A.D. 1720,' published by the Society of Antiquaries in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. I., compared with that of Buck, A.D. 1738, traces for us the progress of decay, or rather of ruin and spoliation. An examination of a few inches beneath the level turf, revealed the hidden motive which prompted this destruction; for there the last remnant still exists of a noble pair of stone buttresses, connected with each other at their intersection by a diagonal splay, which formed the main angle of the building. Each of these buttresses is 4 feet 4 inches across, and they project 4 feet 10 inches from the north and east walls respectively. Their position enables us to give 16 feet as the exterior face of the chancel wall, and 11 feet as that of the north aisle."

"Following the external face of the north wall, three single buttresses of similar dimensions were successively developed, separated by irregular intervals, and of less careful construction than the pair first noticed. The intervals between them are as follow: from 1 to 2, 14 feet 6 inches; from 2 to 3, 10 feet 3 inches; from 3 to 4, 10 feet. The second and third buttresses, subsequently to their original construction, had been prolonged northward so as to form a porch or vestibule, in one corner of which there still exist, *in situ*, a red and a yellow glazed tile, a portion of its chequered pavement."

"The portion of church wall intervening between these last buttresses is formed below the ground-line, with a massive arch turned to a span of six feet, apparently the entrance to a vault or crypt beneath the original pavement of the church. It is filled with loose mould, and circumstances did not permit an exploration of its interior. The portion of wall connecting the buttresses hitherto described is about five feet in thickness, but on the other side of a gravel walk, which crosses it diagonally over the foundations of the fourth buttress, it is found to have increased in thickness to twelve feet. The additional seven feet are gained externally, but the formation

of the gravel walk has not only in part broken the junction, but prevents a proper examination of the precise point of increase."

"Remarkable, however, for solidity as these foundations are, they are comparatively insignificant by the side of others connected with them, which are now about to be noticed. The twelve-foot wall pursues its course westwards, and, at a distance of seventy-eight feet from the north-east corner of the aisle, is found to abut on a platform of solid grouted masonry, which measures from east to west, twenty feet, and from north to south, forty. It is now covered with garden mould to a depth of several inches, sufficing merely for the growth of shrubs and flowers, beneath which its surface is for the most part level; but attempts seem to have been made both at the sides and centre to break through its solid crust, as if with a view to discover the secrets of its interior. Neither has the hope, peradventure, been disappointed; for nearly at the angle formed by it with the twelve-foot wall (which passes beyond it) a stone coffin remains, which contained the larger portion of an undisturbed skeleton . . . .; it was entered by a doorway of three steps in the twelve-foot wall, which separated the church from it . . . .; a corresponding door was placed immediately opposite, flanked by large buttresses, or possibly these foundations may have carried a shallow porch. . . . . The west wall, as well as the north, appears to have had its doorway; and the north wall at its ground-line was bedded in flat masonry at two separate levels, as if it had been cased originally with squared blocks of stone of large dimensions. And it may be also noted that small fragments of magnesian or Roche-Abbey limestone are found repeatedly around these foundations, although never wrought, as if they had been used in construction. . . . . It will be seen by the ground-plan that the north facade exhibited the rather unusual composition of a central doorway."

Mr. Lee Warner concludes, from the measurements coin-



ciding so exactly with the dimensions of the “*novum opus*” of William of Worcester, that not a shadow of a doubt could exist as to their identity.

The note of dimensions in the *Itinerary* of William of Worcester is as follows:—“*Longitudo novi operis de Walsyngham continet in toto 16 virgas; latitudo continet infra aream 10 virgas; longitudo capelle Beatæ Mariæ continet 7 virgas 30 pollices; latitudo continet 4 virgas 10 pollices.*”

Worcester gives, also, dimensions of other parts of the Priory, which I give as translated by Mr. Nichols in his Appendix to Erasmus. (p. 200.)

“The length of the whole Church of Walsingham, from the end of the chancel, was 136 of Worcester’s paces; its breadth, 36 paces. The length of the nave, from the west door to the tower in the middle of the church, 70 paces; the square of the tower, 16 paces. The breadth of the nave, without the two aisles, 16 paces. The length of the quire was 50 paces, and the breadth, 17. The cloister was square, 54 paces in each walk. The length of the chapter-house, 20 paces; its breadth, 10 paces; but the length of the entrance of the chapter-house, from the cloister, was 10 paces; so in all it was 30 paces.”

So far Worcester. Erasmus, whose visit has been ascertained to have been made in 1511, describes the church and chapel in the following terms:—

“*Ogygius.* . . . . The church is graceful and elegant; but the Virgin does not occupy it, she cedes it out of deference to her Son. She has *her own church*, that she may be at her Son’s right hand.

“*Menedemus.* On his right hand? To which point then looks her Son?

“*Og.* Well thought of. When he looks to the west, he has his mother on his right hand. When he turns to the sun rising, she is on the left. Yet she does not even occupy this; for the building is unfinished, *and it is a place exposed on all*

*sides*, with open doors and open windows, and near at hand is the ocean, the Father of the winds.

"*Me.* It is hard. Where then does the Virgin dwell?

"*Og.* Within the church, which I have called unfinished, is a small chapel made of wainscot, and admitting the devotees on each side by a narrow little door. The light is small, indeed, scarcely any but from the wax-lights. A most grateful fragrance meets the nostrils."\*

In one very important particular, therefore, does the building now discovered by Mr. Lee Warner differ from Erasmus' description. His description clearly indicates a chapel standing apart from the church, "a place exposed *on all sides*, with open doors and open windows." And although he and I have trenched the ground to the east without success, it is very possible that some remains of it may yet be found in that direction. The new work was doubtless erected over the old wooden chapel of Richoldie de Favraches, and the walls would hardly have been carried up to the great height which the thickness of those discovered by Mr. Lee Warner would appear to indicate. May not the building just discovered be "the tower in the middle of the church" of William of Worcester, which he says was about 70 paces from the west end? It will be observed that no traces were found within it of the foundations of the wooden chapel, and it is nearly midway between the east and west ends. The grouted floor was almost intact. I cannot help thinking that this fact also tends very much to destroy the pretensions of this building to the honour of having enclosed the Chapel of the Virgin, which was an ancient wooden building over which the new stone building had been raised.

The gateway of the Knight, which opened into the yard of the Virgin's chapel, is considerably to the east of this spot in a line due north of the east end of the church, and the road

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\* *Pilgrimage of Erasmus*, by Nichols, p. 13.

opposite to it still retains the name of Knight Street.\* I trust further excavations will be permitted in this direction, for it is scarcely to be believed but that some traces of this famous chapel may be left to identify its site.

Nearly two hundred feet due east from the east end of the church are still remaining the "tweyne wells," by which, tradition says, the widow first intended to place her chapel; and the anonymous ballad before alluded to speaks of

A chappel of Saynt Lawrence standyth now there  
Fast by tweyne wellys, experience do thus lere;  
There she thought to have sette this chappel,  
Which was begone by our Ladie's counsel.  
All night the wedowe permayning in this prayer,  
Our blessed Laydie with blessed minystrys,  
Herself being here chief artificer,  
Arrered thys sayde house with angells handys,  
And not only rered it but sette it there it is,  
That is *tweyne hundred foot* more in distaunce  
From the first place folks make remembrance.

It is plain from this, that at the time the ballad was written there was a Chapel of St. Lawrence by the Wells, and that the then existing chapel of the Virgin was 200 feet from it. The place recently discovered is nearly 300 feet away from it.

Erasmus describes this chapel of St. Lawrence thus:—

"*Og.* To the east of this (the Virgin's chapel) is a chapel full of wonders. Thither I go. Another guide receives me. There we worshipped for a short time. Presently the joint of a man's finger is exhibited to us, the largest of three: I kiss it, and then I ask, Whose relics were these? He says, St. Peter's. The Apostle? I ask. He said, Yes. Then observing the size of the joint, which might have been that of a

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\* In the notes to Erasmus Mr. Nichols mistakes the spot to which this tradition refers. He supposes the west gate to have been the scene of the Miracle of the Knight, but the fact above mentioned points out the site.—Nichols's *Pilgrimage of Erasmus*, p. 88.

giant, I remarked, Peter must have been a man of very large size. At this one of my companions burst into a laugh, which I certainly took ill, for if he had been quiet the attendant would have shown us all the relics. However, we pacified him by offering a few pence. Before the chapel was a shed, which they say was suddenly, in the winter season when every thing was covered with snow, brought thither from a great distance. Under this shed are two wells full to the brink; they say the spring is sacred to the Holy Virgin. The water is wonderfully cold and efficacious in curing the pains of the head and stomach. . . . . They affirm that the spring suddenly burst from the earth at the command of the most Holy Virgin. Whilst looking around carefully at every thing, I asked how many years it might be since that little house was brought thither: he answered, some centuries. But the walls, I remarked, do not bear any signs of age. He did not dispute the matter. Nor even the wooden posts: he allowed that they had been recently put up, and, indeed, they spoke for themselves. Then, I said, the roof and thatch appear to be new. He agreed. And not even those cross-beams, I said, nor the rafters, seem to have been erected for many years. He assented. But, I said, as now no part of the old building remains, how do you prove that this is the cottage which was brought from a great distance?

“*Me.* Pray how did your conductor extricate himself from this difficulty?

“*Og.* Why he immediately showed us a very old bear’s skin fixed to the rafters, and almost ridiculed our dullness in not having observed so manifest a proof. Thus convinced, and asking pardon for our slowness of apprehension, we turned towards the heavenly milk of the blessed Virgin. . . . . That milk is kept on the high altar, on the centre of which is Christ; at his right hand, for honour’s sake, his mother; for the milk personifies the mother.

“*Me.* It can be easily seen, then?

“*Og.* Inclosed in crystal.”\*

The relative estimation in which each of these attractions was held by pilgrims, may be judged from the offerings made in the year before the value was taken by order of Henry the Eighth, in 1534. In the chapel of the blessed Virgin Mary, £201. 1s. At the sacred milk of the blessed Virgin, £2. 2s. 3d. In the chapel of St. Lawrence, £8. 9s. 1½d. The clear yearly value of the spiritual and temporal possessions of the Priory at the same survey was £391.

The immense value of the treasures gathered about the altars here has been already alluded to; they included a silver statue on horseback of Bartholomew Lord Burghersh, K.G., ordered by his will in 1369 to be offered to our Lady; and King Henry the Seventh in his lifetime gave a kneeling figure of himself in silver gilt. The visitors of Henry the Eighth, as may be easily guessed, took especial care of these treasures. The inventory made does not exist, but the following letter from the collection relating to the suppression of the monasteries, published by the Camden Society, refers to it; and it has also a curious piece of information about the pursuits of some or one of the inmates. The visitors had no respect for scientific research; and the laboratory of the chemist was probably readily converted, in their minds, into a place devoted to the “arte of multiplying.”

### LXIII. †

*Richard Southwell to Cromwell.*

It may please your good lordshipe to be advertised that Sir Thomas Lestrangle and Mr. Hoges, according unto the sequestration delegate unto them, have been at Walsingham and ther sequestered all such monney, plat, juelles, and stuff,

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\* *Pilgrimage of Erasmus*, p. 19.

† Wright's Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries, p. 138.

as ther was inventyd and founde. Emoung other thinges the same Sir Thomas Lestrange and Mr. Hoges did ther fynd a secrete prevye place within the howse, where no channon nor onny other of the house dyd ever enter, as they saye, in wiche there were instrewnments, pottes, bellowes, flyes of such strange colors as the lick non of us had seene, with poysies and other things to sorte and devyd gould and sylver, nothing ther wantinge that should belonge to the arte of multiplyeng. Off all wiche they desyred me by lettre to advertyse you, and alsoo that frome the Satredaye at night till the Sondag next followinge was offred at, ther now beinge cxxxiiij<sup>a</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> over and besyd waxe.

Of this moultiplyeng it may please you to cawse him to be examyned, and so to advertyse unto them your further pleasuer. Thus I praye God send your good lordshipe hartye helthe. From my poor howse this xxv. of Julii, a<sup>o</sup> xxvij<sup>o</sup>.

Humbly yours to commande,

RIC. SOUTHWELL.\*

To the right honerable and my  
singuler good lord, my lord  
prevye seale.

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The fate of the image, the centre of interest for so many an age, may be gathered from Latimer's Letter to the Lord Privy Seal.†

"I trust your Lordshype wyll bestow our grett Sibyll to sum good purposse, *ut periat memoria cum sonita*. She hath byn the Devyll's instrument to bryng many (I feere) to eternall fyre; now she heresylyff, with here old syster of Walsyngham, hyr younge syster of Ipswyche, with ther other

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\* Southwell lived at Woodrising near Hingham.

† State Pap. Off., Second Series, xlix. p. 513, Orig.

too systurs of Dongcaster and Penryesse, wold make a jooly mustere in Smythfeld. They wold natt be all day in burnynge.”\*

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The days of the miracle mongers were indeed past. A century before, or even less, the miracle alluded to in the following letter would have been accepted and “no questions asked.”

*Roger Townshend to the Lord Privy Seal.†*

Please itt your good Lordshipp to be avertysed that ther was a pore woman of Wellys besyde Walsyngham, that imagyned a falce tale of a myracle to be doon by the image of our Lady that was at Walsyngham syth the same was brought from thens to London; and upon the tryall thereof, by my examinacon from one person to another, to the nomber of vj persons, and at last came to her that she was the reporter thereof, and to be the very auctour of the same, as ferforth as my consciens and perceyvyng cowlde lede me; I commytted her therfor to the warde of the constables of Walsyngham. The next day after, beyng markett day ther, I caused her to be sett in stokkes in the mornynge, & about ix of the klok when the seyde markett was fullest of people, with a papir sett aboute her hede, wreten wyth thes wordes upon the same, *A reporter of falce tales*, was sett in a carte and so carryed aboute the markett stede and other stretes in the town, steyng in dyvers places wher most people assembled, yong people & boyes of the town castyng snowe balles att her. Thys doon & executed, was brought to the stokkes ageyn, and ther sett till the markett was ended. This was her penans; for I knewe no lawe otherwyse to

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\* Ellis's *Original Letters*, Third Series, Vol. III., p. 205.

† State Pap. Off.; Second Series, xliii. p. 193, Orig.

ponyshe her butt by discrecon ; trustyng itt shall be a warnyng to other lyght persons in such wyse to order them self. Howe be itt, I cannot perceyve butt the seyde Image is not yett out of sum of ther heddes. . . . Wreten the xx<sup>th</sup> of January.

Humbly at your comande,

ROGER TOUNESHEND.\*

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But it is time to return to the western end of the church and to the excavations made more immediately under my own observation.

Nearly a quarter of a century ago an opportunity had been afforded for some examination of the ground on which the Priory Church had stood, and a plan was then drawn by a person in the employment of Mr. Lee Warner, of the name of Grannan. This plan was placed in our hands, and we immediately determined on an excavation at the point where it seemed there would be least interference with the arrangements of the walks and beds of the garden ; this was at the west end of the church, and although tall trees appeared to present some difficulties in our way, we still thought we might dig amongst them without damage to them. This hope, however, was a fallacious one, and one tree after another fell before us in our efforts to rescue the buried fragments from oblivion.

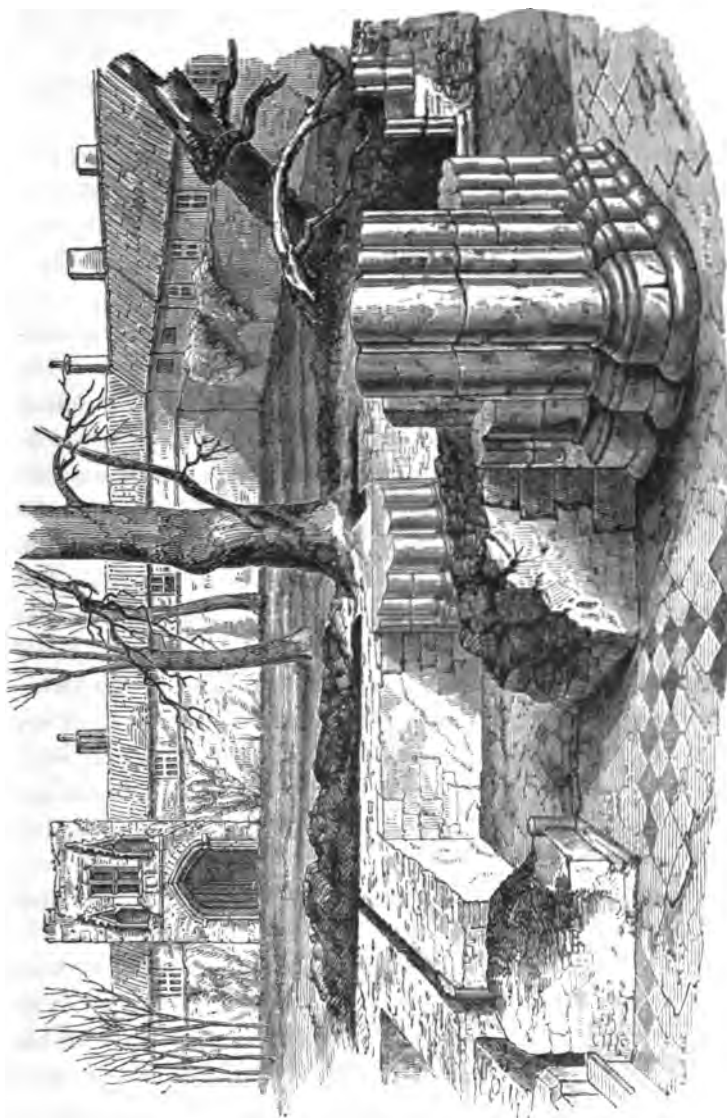
The first object upon which we lighted was on the base of the respond of the last arch of the south aisle, and this speedily brought us to the west wall itself and the great western door.

Calculating our distance from the western respond, we were soon after fortunate enough to light on the beautiful base, foremost in the view on the opposite page.

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\* *Ellis's Original Letters*, Third Series, Vol. III., p. 162.





EXCAVATIONS AT THE WEST END OF WALSINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH.

The floor shown in this view is of the Perpendicular period and six inches above the original one, and deprives the base of much of its beauty of proportion.

Subsequently, the two next bases towards the east were excavated, but these had been much injured; sufficient remained of them to show that they had been perpendicular shafts set on a *circular* base. These pillars were much smaller than the first one, and the conclusion we arrived at was, that there had been small western towers as at Castle Acre, Thetford, &c.

The southern wall was within nine inches of another massive wall running parallel with it for twenty-seven feet, but of a more modern character. The exterior of the church wall had the bases and part of the shafts of an arcade, which, with every disposition to defer to my seniors, I cannot call any thing but Early English. To the same date I assign the western door and the bases depicted in the view, late in the period, approaching Transition, but still Early English. The last visible member of the prominent base in the view has a deep under-cutting beneath it so characteristic of Early English, and so at variance with the principles of the Decorated style, that I cannot assign it to any other period. Very few years difference there may be, assign it to which style we may, and it is very possible that the fashion did not change all over the country in one year, or even in one lustrum; but it is desirable to keep the prominent characteristics of each style in view, and not to introduce the elements of confusion by inattention to them.

There were not, as at Castle Acre and Thetford, any western doors to the aisles; and, in the Perpendicular period, vast alterations were made, as I have stated, in other parts of the building, and some extensive traces of them may be seen here. The massive column to the right of the view was cut away a third of its thickness on the south side, and a wall built to the south door, pierced by a small door, with a

newel and the remains of two or three stairs in the thickness of the wall on the south side. These stairs were much injured by the falling of a massive fragment upon them, which caused us much trouble to remove: the newel and the remaining stair will be observed on the left of the view. From this point, the south wall of the church was rebuilt in the Perpendicular period, just outside the more ancient wall, the foundation of which we found under the pavement, at the left hand lower corner of the view, running in a direct line from the south wall of the tower. The bases and walls on the north side were completely denuded of the stonework; nothing was left but the rubble core.

The building on the west of the cloister, the northern wall of which so closely approaches the south wall of the southwestern tower, I have called the Guest Hall, and for this reason, that there are no indications whatever of its having been vaulted, and it has doors from the west as well as from the cloister. It stands in the same position as the Strangers' Hall at Norwich, and in all our Norfolk conventual buildings that I have had the opportunity of examining, with the exception of Castle Acre (and there the Monks' Dormitory was certainly on the east side) which, having the western building vaulted, showed that the upper floor was intended for lodgings, probably for strangers and visitors; and the lower, a crypt for stores.

The west gate seen in the view leads into the main street of the town. The west side of it is very well known by the views of it by Cotman and others. It will be remembered by the grotesque head of a porter protruded through a small quatrefoil opening in the upper part of it.

The town itself presents abundant objects of interest for the Archæologist. At the south entrance are the remains of the Friary founded by the Lady Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Clare, about the 21st year of King Edward III. The inmates were Friars Minors, and the foundation excited

great jealousy on the part of the Canons, with whom, however, they appear to have very little interfered.



WELL IN COMMON PLACE.

On the west side of the yard of the Virgin's Chapel is the Common Place, in which is the curious conduit, of which I am enabled to give a view. This must not, however, be confounded with Cabbok's Well, mentioned in a document first printed in the Appendix to the Walsingham Paper in the *Archæological Journal*.\* That well was "in the south angle of the ditch of Power's Close, next the ditch of Blacks." Blacks' was in "North townesende," in the way leading to Knight Street from Westgate. (See Appendix C.)

The document in question is a note of a concession by the

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\* Vol. XIII. p. 131.

lord of the manor to John, Prior of Walsingham, the tenth year of Richard II., of "a certain lane leading from a certain way towards Cubbokeswell, to the Common Place of Little Walsingham." To translate the "*in communi villatura*" "*in the Common Place,*" would render the passage irreconcilable with the note I have quoted above.

The building over the well in the Common Place now does duty as the town pump, but still retains very nearly its original appearance, as shown on the page opposite.

I have added, in Appendix C, some extracts from a survey of the prior's possessions in the town, about the time of the Dissolution, among the Augmentation Office papers; from which, amongst other information, we may gather some idea of the provision made in the town for the reception of strangers.

On entering the town from the south we find under the walls of the Friary, "*le Beere,*" formerly "*le Dowe.*" We then come to the Friday Market Place where we have the "*White Horse*" and the "*Crownyd Lyon,*" in the adjoining street the "*Mone and Sterr,*" the "*Cokk,*" the "*Sarassyns Hede,*" the Swan, and the "*Bull,*" which have appropriated part of the buildings of the "*Angel,* now *wasted,*" and then the "*Ram*" offers hospitality. In Stonegate there are the "*Chekker*" and the "*Bolt and Toun.*" In North Towns-ende we have the "*White Hart*" and the "*Madynhede.*" By the prior's water mill are the "*Gryffon*" and the "*Bell.*" In Church Street, the "*Crane.*" By the churchyard, the "*George.*"

All these hostelries belonged to the Priory, and there were, doubtless, a large number belonging to other persons. One of these latter stood opposite the west gate of the Priory, and a Stone Drinking Pot projected from its front in Gough's time. It was recently found buried in the garden of the house, and shortly after it had been exhumed, I made the sketch of it which appears on the next page.



STONE DRINKING POT.

(Formerly in the wall of a house opposite Priory.)

Mr. James Lee Warner tells me that the Swan is well remembered, and a back lane still retains its name from it. The modern Bull does not tally with the description of the old one; and the old "Falcon" does not appear in my list, probably from not belonging to the Prior. The Maid's Head was pulled down by Mr. Lee Warner's grandfather, about fifty years ago: he just remembers to have seen it standing. It was so called, probably, from the device of the Mercers, who drove no doubt a thriving trade among the fair visitors to the Virgin's shrine.

The list of the Canons of Walsingham, printed in Appendix B., presents, amongst much curious information, an opportunity rarely occurring for ascertaining the part of the world from which the inmates came. There can be no doubt, from a perusal of it, that from the county of Norfolk the supply was chiefly drawn. Out of 124 names, eighty-two bear those of Norfolk towns and villages, while ten have Suffolk names, and five are from adjoining counties: the rest bear names derived from other sources.

The seal of the Priory, from the Acknowledgment of Supremacy, for the wood-cut of which I am indebted to the



OBVERSE OF SEAL OF WALSINGHAM PRIORY.



REVERSE OF SEAL OF WALSINGHAM PRIORY.

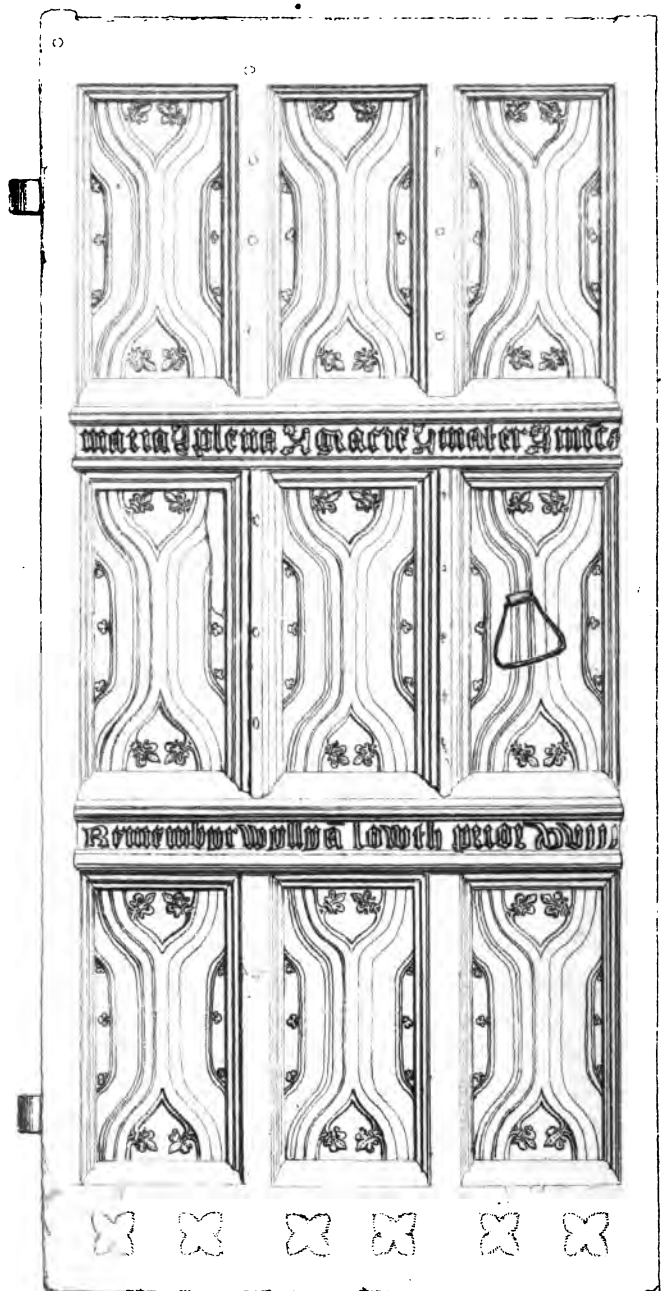
kindness of the Committee of the Archæological Institute, is a very curious one, and the description of it in the Journal, by a well-known hand, is far more appropriate than any observations of mine could be.

"On one side of the seal," he says, "appears a cruciform church of Norman character, with a central tower and two smaller towers, both at the east and west end. The roof of the church appears to be covered with tiles; a crest of small intersecting arches runs along its ridge. Through a round-headed aperture in the nave, and another in the choir, are seen heads as of persons within the church; and in a larger opening or door in the transept is likewise perceived a demi-figure in the attitude of supplication; it represents an aged man with a beard, clad in a sleeveless garment, with a hood, which is thrown back, and his sleeved arm passed through the wide opening in the shoulder of the upper garment. The inscription, commencing from the cross on the summit of the tower, is as follows: SIGILLVM ECCL'IE BEATE MARIE DE WALSINGHAM.

"The work is in high relief, and has an aspect of greater antiquity than that of the reverse: at first sight it might be supposed that the date of its execution was earlier, or that the other side has been copied from an early type. On that side appears the Virgin seated on a peculiar high-backed throne: she holds the infant Saviour on her left knee; on her head is a low crown; an elegantly-foliated sceptre in her right hand; the draperies are poor and in low relief: over the figure is a sort of canopy, with curtains looped back at each side and falling in ungraceful folds. The angelical salutation is inscribed around the margin: ✚ AVE MARIA: GRATIA: PLENA: DOMINVS: TECVM. In addition to less archaic effect of the workmanship, suggesting the notion that this side may be the reproduction of an earlier seal, it may be noticed that the word PLENA is blundered, a *d* being found in place of *n*,—an error that might easily occur from







Drawn & Etched by H.N. Ham.

ST CLEMENT'S NORWICH.

the similarity of the two letters in the particular character here used. From the general execution, however, of these seals, their date may probably be assigned to the latter part of the twelfth or the commencement of the thirteenth century. On careful examination of the impression preserved in the chapter-house, the seal of Walsingham is found to supply an example of the rare practice of impressing an inscription upon the edge or thickness of the seal, as on that of Norwich Cathedral, the city of Canterbury, and a few others.\* In the present instance, the following words of a Leonine verse may be deciphered: VIRGO: PIA: GENETRIX: SIT: NOBIS. *laureolata* In Taylor's *Index Monasticus* a second impression of the seal of Walsingham is mentioned, in an imperfect state; it was in the possession of Mr. Miller, of London."

The church on the obverse of the seal, may possibly be intended to be represented as viewed from the west, the western door being in the centre of the front, the tower beyond it, and small turrets at the end of each transept.

The public have been indebted to Mr. Lee Warner for yet another addition to their information about Walsingham. About thirty years ago, a piece of painted glass, found in a lumber room in the modern mansion, was placed in the east window of the parish church. It bears the arms of the Priory, impaling those of Richard Vowel, the last prior. A sketch of it will be found at the head of this paper.

To conclude my notes on Walsingham matters, I would call attention to a beautiful door, of which an engraving appeared in the second volume of our *Norfolk Archæology*. It is now the door of a house in St. Clement's, Norwich, which stands on part of the site of the city house of the Priors of Ixworth, to one of whom the erection of this door was wrongly attributed, in that volume.

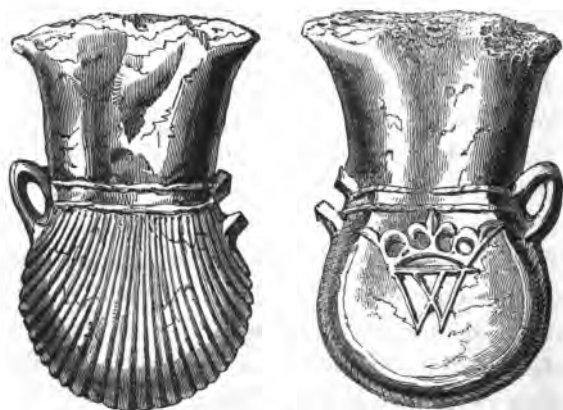
The house in which it is placed must have been built about

\* See Sir F. Madden's remarks on this peculiarity, *Archæologia*, Vol. XX.

the time of James I., and the door itself, I conclude from the evidence afforded by the list of Priors in Appendix (A), formerly belonged to the Norwich House of the Priors of Walsingham, which stood at no very great distance from the west end of the church of St. George Colegate. The inscription upon it—

MARIA : PLENA : GRACIE : MATER : MIS :  
REMEMBYR WYLLYA LOWTH PRIOR xvijj—

so completely identifies it with William Lowth, the 18th Prior of Walsingham, according to the list, now first published, as to leave no doubt that it was erected by him. The style of it is of the first ten years of the 16th century, and he became Prior of Walsingham in 1505. I am indebted to Mr. Enfield, the present proprietor of the house, for the use of the plate to illustrate this notice. The relic is carefully preserved, and is a frequent object of interest to strangers inspecting the antiquities of our city.



WALSINGHAM BADGE.

## APPENDIX.

### A.

#### Priors of Walsingham.

Cotton MS. Nero E. vii., fo. 149 b.

From the entrance of the Canons into the Church of Walsingham to the death of

Ralph, first prior, there elapsed . . .	20 years
Then Richard, second prior, lived . . .	18 -
Alexander, third prior . . . . .	21 -
William, fourth prior . . . . .	47 -
Peter, fifth prior . . . . .	} 16 -
Alan, sixth prior . . . . .	
William, seventh prior . . . . .	9 -
John, eighth prior . . . . .	20 -
Philip, ninth prior . . . . .	14 -
Walter, tenth prior . . . . .	22 -
Simon, eleventh prior . . . . .	14 -
Thomas, twelfth prior . . . . .	10 -
John Snoring, thirteenth prior . . . . .	27 -
[John Harford, fourteenth prior]	
Hugh Wells, fifteenth prior . . . . .	35 -
Thomas Hunt, sixteenth prior . . . . .	37 -
John Farwell, seventeenth prior . . . . .	29 -

William Lowth, *eighteenth* prior, lived in the priory ten years, and resigned for a pension, and afterwards became the Prior of Westacre, when [illegible] with him.

M<sup>d</sup>. That in the sixth year of Peter, the prior, the statute "Quia emptores terrarum" was made. [This statute is of the eighteenth year of Edward I.]

M<sup>d</sup>. That John Harford bore the name and office of prior in the lifetime of the said John Snoring. [The remainder of the note is so much injured as to be scarcely legible, but it appears to allude to a plea before the Bishop Spenser that his election was not by the major part of the convent, and was therefore set aside.]

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B.

### Canons of Walsingham.

Cotton MS. Nero E. vii. fol. 165 b. and 166.

Memorandum. That A.D. 1384, John Snoring was thirteenth Prior of Walsingham.

John Jerningham, otherwise Wariner, was Sub-prior and *principal aid* (adjutor) *about the construction of our church.*

John Barsham, Canon.

Richard Burnham, Canon.

William Barsham, Canon.

Thomas Bedingham, Canon.

Nicholas Barsham, Canon.

Simon Warham, Canon.

Thomas Walsham, Canon.

Thomas Lynne, *who caused Les Clowse, &c. to be made, and with his own hands assisted at the works of the high altar.*

John de Herford, a good physician and fourteenth prior.

John Peynton, Canon.

John Yermouth, Sub-prior, *who caused the roof of the body of our church to be painted, and the Chapel of St. Nicholas with the tables there ; and [built?] the wall of the south garden called Jubilee.\** May his soul rest in peace.

John Bakton, Canon.

John Elyngham, Canon.

Richard Wighton, Canon.

Thomas Fornsete, Canon, apostatized by reason of theft which he committed, and afterwards "capellanus honoris effectus."

Thomas Catele, Sub-prior, who in his boyhood was submerged in the well of the blessed Mary, and died, but by a miracle of the blessed Virgin was restored to life.

Hugh Wells, fifteenth prior, by whose labour the manor of Eggemere was acquired, *who also caused the great bell to be made,* and many other worthy memorials.

Thomas Parham, Canon, afterwards dismissed.

Walter Ebon, Canon.

Thomas Hilgrave, Canon, devoted to God, who wrote many books.

William Salle, Canon, who of his goods expended much about *the chancel of the parish church of Walsingham.*

William Bale, Canon.

William Bachelor, Sub-prior.

John Derham, Canon, afterwards Prior of Cokesford.

Nicholas Agges, Canon.

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\* Deinde Urbanus VI. p.p. Pontificatus sui, an. II. Christi 1389, tertio Idus April instituit, ut omnis Jubilæus per Clementem VI. de centesimo anno ad quinquagesimum reductus, deinde in futurum de tricesimo tertio anno in tricesimum tertium annum semper institueretur, et ut annus Natiuitatis Domini prozime venturus videlicet 1390, esset Jubilæus : quo cum commovit tempus vitæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi in humanitate, quod totum postquam natus est de Virgine (per cujus mortem thesaurus Ecclesiæ, unde indulgentiæ peccatorum omnes emanant, cumulatus) triginta trium annorum curriculo completum fuit.—Ita Magnum Chronicon Belg.—*Ducange.* [I presume this garden was made in 1390.]

John Houghton, Canon, who died in the pulpit of the Church of All Saints in Great Walsingham.

Thomas Myldenhall, Canon, and afterwards Vicar of Bedingham; but within fifteen days returned to the cloister and died.

Thomas Crakesheld, otherwise Mason, afterwards Abbot of Creke.\*

Thomas Hunt, sixteenth prior.

John Stanhowe, Canon, afterwards Abbot of Creke.†

Edmund Stede, Canon, afterwards dismissed.

James Baconsthorpe, Canon.

William Chestany, Canon, afterwards Augustine Friar.

*William Hynne, who caused the library to be made.*

John Leringsete, afterwards dismissed.

John Walsham, ditto.

Alan Iteryngham, ditto.

William Dereham, Jubilee devoted to God.

John Gresseham, afterwards dismissed.

Robert Norwich.

Richard Hilburghworth, otherwise Munday.

William Paryse, Sub-Prior and Bachelor in the Canon Law.

William Norton.

Thomas Houghton.

John Walsingham.

Thomas Derham.

Richard Burnham, otherwise Palle,‡ afterwards Prior of Westacre.

William Sharnington.

William Framingham.

John Aylesham.

John Geist.

Edmund Waburn, afterwards dismissed.

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\* In Blomefield's List, between 1412 and 1439.

† Blomefield's List, 1439.

‡ In 1469, Blomefield, Vol. IX., p. 161.



John Norwich, otherwise Farwell,\* seventeenth prior, and  
in Jure Pontificio Licenciatus.

Thomas Craneworth.

Robert Lyng.

William Walsingham, otherwise Sezely, Bachelor in Theology.

James Thornhegge, Sub-Prior, devotissimus.

John Aleyn.

Thomas Congham.

Henry Mileham, afterwards Prior of Cokesford.

Thomas Bircham, afterwards dismissed.

James Hempstede.

William Fakenham.

Nicholas Lucas.

Richard Gottes, † afterwards Prior of Flitcham.

Alan Aylesham.

Thomas Byrmyngham, Bachelor in Theology.

Giles Sharnington, ‡ Bachelor in Theology, and afterwards  
Abbot of Creyke.

Richard Holkham.

Richard Waterden.

Richard Warham, otherwise Ponyour, afterwards Sub-Prior  
and Jubileus.

Richard Ketleston, afterwards Rector of Sharnington. ||

John Grome.

Thomas Grymston, § afterwards Prior of Mount Joy. Deus  
cum eo.

Henry Burnham, otherwise Cosyn.

Nicholas Starman, otherwise Sharnington.

Thomas Bynham, ¶ afterwards Prior of Hempton.

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\* 1474, Blomefield, Vol. IX., p. 277.

† 1490, Blomefield, Vol. VIII., p. 417.

‡ About 1503, Blomefield, Vol. VII., p. 77.

|| Not named in Blomefield.

§ 1502, Blomefield, Vol. VIII., p. 232.

¶ Not named in Blomefield's list of Priors of Hempton.

John Walsingham, otherwise Dix.  
 Thomas Greyke, otherwise Hoker, afterwards dismissed.  
 Deus cum eo.  
 William Lowth,\* afterwards eighteenth prior, and after that  
 Prior of Westakre by resignation.  
 William Houghton.  
 Christopher Barsham, otherwise Ward.  
 Robert Parker, otherwise Walsingham.  
 Thomas Stiffekey, who died in London.  
 Nicholas Ashehill.  
 William Norwich.  
 Edmund Feltwell.  
 Robert Keteleston,† afterwards dismissed.  
 Richard Swineshed, *gentleman*.  
 Thomas Lynne.  
 Dionisius Talbot, *not professed*.  
 Thomas Walsingham, otherwise Lowthe, afterwards Prior of  
 Thetford. ‡  
 William Walsingham, otherwise Giles.  
 Richard Dokking, otherwise Dolle.  
 Edmund Ryngelond, some time Rector of Amlington, M.A.  
 Robert Haale, went away before he was professed.  
 William Betts.  
 Richard Hewys, alias Rysley.  
 Thomas Ringsted.  
 John Lowe.  
 William Raase.§  
 John Pecke, alias Aylesham.  
 John Watson, otherwise Clenchwarton.

All professed at one time in the  
 feast of St. Tiburtius and Valerian,  
 after Easter in the year 1505, in the  
 time of William Lowthe, prior.

\* 1520, Blomefield says he occurs as Prior of Westacre, Vol. IX., p. 161.

† From this point the entries are in another hand.

‡ No list of these priors in Blomefield.

§ Second signature to Acknowledgment of King's Supremacy, 18th Sept.,  
 1534; Appendix II. to Seventh Report of Commissioners of Public Records.

Thomas Skelton,\* Colechester, afterwards dismissed.

Thomas Wells.

Robert Tilney, otherwise Creyke, afterwards Prior of Hempton. †

Thomas Ipwich.

William Mileham.

David Norwich.

Nicholas Cambridge, afterwards dismissed.

Nicholas Mileham, ‡ afterwards Sub-Prior.

Robert Salle.

John Walsingham, otherwise Betts, died at Cambridge.

Professed in the Feast of St. Dorothy, A.D. 1511.

Richard Vowell, § nineteenth prior.

Robert Wilsey. ||

Michael Gabbs.

William Rede, ¶ otherwise Castleacre.

Simon Ovy, \*\* afterwards dismissed. (?)

Thomas Aleyn, went away without licence.

John Harlowe. † †

Richard Garnett. ‡ ‡

John Quadryng.

John Lampley, §§ professed alone, St. Augustine's Day, 1523,

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\* Fourth Signature to Acknowledgment of Supremacy.

† Not in Blomefield's list of Hempton Priors.

‡ Fifth signature to Acknowledgment of Supremacy.

§ First signature to Acknowledgment of Supremacy.

|| Seventh Signature to Acknowledgment of Supremacy.

¶ Eighth signature to Acknowledgment of Supremacy, and had a pension.

—Blomefield, Vol. IX., p. 278.

\*\* Ninth signature to Acknowledgment of Supremacy.

† † Tenth signature to Acknowledgment of Supremacy, and had a pension.

‡ ‡ Twelfth signature, and had a pension.

§ § Reported by Sir Richard Southwell, one of the visitors, as having confessed himself guilty of divers offences.—Blomefield, Vol. IX., p. 278.

afterwards sent to Cambridge and takes degree of B. D.; afterwards is elected Sub-Prior, and at the end of a year, with great labour, is appointed Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

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C.

*Augmentation Office Papers, D. 9.*

*Holcam Sty.* The first Furlong lies north and south, beginning next Holcam Sty at west townes ende, proceeding westerly :

*(inter aliâ)*

Riggs Acre

Tyle House

West Merle Pitts.

*Wykyn.* The second Furlong more northerly, beginning at Wykyn, proceeds easterly to Holcam sty :

*inter aliâ,*

Prest howse

Nether tyle house.

*Scutts Croft.* The third furlong lies east of Holcam sty next Scutts Croft, proceeding east, afterwards southward, returning westerly to Holcam Sty :

Nicholas Calver, 3 roods inclosed

He also holds 3 roods in the same Close

James Gresham holds 1 acre 1 rood in a Close called Scutts Croft

Also holds an acre & half in same Close

Also holds half an acre in same

Also holds two acres in same

Also holds 1 acre 1 rood in same close, lying east and west

li. Also holds 3 acres of fee in same close

R. C°. Also holds an acre and a rood in same

- R. C°. Also holds an acre and half in same  
 p. li. Two acres in one close called North townesende,  
 R. dm<sup>c</sup> called "le perkes," with a pightle  
 co. George Merle  
 p<sup>r</sup>. Cottage with Curtilage  
 „ d°.  
 „ d°.  
 „ d°.  
 li. Entry  
 p<sup>r</sup>. co. Roger Pall, cottage with curtilage  
 R. C°. T. Walpole, *sometime Guildhouse*  
 R. C°. The same holds a cottage with curtilage, sometime  
 : Edmund Calvers  
 Also holds 25 perches  
 p. li. Also holds *messuage of the Chapel of the Blessed*  
*Mary*  
 p. li. Also a vacant place, sometime built on  
 R. C°. Tho<sup>s</sup>. Hunt, cottage with curtilage  
 p<sup>r</sup>. li. John Clerk holds a messuage with curtilage  
 p<sup>r</sup>. li. Messuage, sometime "balthays"  
 p. Messuage *called Guildhall*  
 p<sup>r</sup>. co. W. Davy, a cottage  
 p<sup>r</sup>. Tho<sup>s</sup>. Marshall, not in free tenure  
 p<sup>r</sup>. li. Nicholas Calver, 1 rood and a half, enclosed  
 R. C°. The same, 1 acre of croftland in same Close  
 R. C°. T. Curtis, 1 acre of tenement, Scutts.

*West townes end.* The fourth Furlong lies north and south,  
 abutting on West Green Gate towards the north, be-  
 ginning next Holcam Styte, proceeding westerly:

*inter alià,*

Gateland

Mellgate

Magges Acre

West green gate.

The fifth Furlong lies at the south end of the aforesaid Furlong, abutts upon the Common Way called Waterden Way towards the south, proceeding easterly :

*int. aliâ,*

Stone Hill

Delverfrettlende

Netherstone hyll.

The sixth furlong lies north and south, abutting on the said way north, beginning on the east part, proceeding westerly :

*int. aliâ,*

Duddingsgore

3 Acres called Mount Godard

Whitelands

Coppishilldowne

Stonehill

Pinningshill

Lothel.

The seventh furlong lies east and west, beginning on the part of the east of a certain 17 acre piece of land, proceeding east :

*inter aliâ,*

Chekker acre

Wolves acre.

The 8<sup>th</sup> Furlong lies east and west, abuts upon the said Furlong towards the west, beginning next Mount Godard, proceeding south.

The ninth furlong lies north and south, abutting upon the said furlong north, beginning on the west part of the same and proceeding south :

Thorne wonge.

The tenth Furlong lies at the south end of the said furlong, proceeding west.

The eleventh Furlong lies at the south end of the aforesaid furlong, beginning next "berrell hill," proceeding south, and is in the fields of Hoghton :

*inter aliâ,*

Berrell Hill

Church of Little Walsingham.

The twelfth furlong lies east and west, beginning on the north part and proceeding south, and is in the fields of Hoghton :

*inter aliâ,*

R. Five rods with pits.

The thirteenth Furlong lies north and south, beginning next bekke furlong, proceeding west, and is in the fields of Little Walsingham.

The fourteenth Furlong lies at the north end of the aforesaid furlong, proceeding east.

The fifteenth Furlong lies east and west, beginning on the north part of the Gravel Pits, proceeding north :

*inter aliâ,*

Houghheved lands

Greshound

Garbretland

daddynsgore.

The sixteenth Furlong lies at the east end of the aforesaid Furlong, east and west, abutting upon Holcam Styte towards the east, beginning on the north part, proceeding south :

*inter aliâ,*

Steres hill

Dele acre

Pymons hill

Steyndeale.

The seventeenth Furlong lies at the east end of the aforesaid Furlong, north and south, beginning on the east of the Gravel Pits, proceeding east:

*inter aliâ,*

North broke bak.

The eighteenth Furlong lies at the north end of the aforesaid Furlong, east and west, beginning on the south, and proceeding north :

*inter aliâ,*

Swyne crundell  
herles crofftesende  
freers croftesende  
Pymons hill.

The nineteenth Furlong lies east and west, abutting on london way towards the east, beginning on the south of Thorne-gate Sty, proceeding south, to the south end of the house of the Friars there :

*inter aliâ,*

Holtor lokke dyke  
bekke furlong  
hoghton brigg  
Calves Hill.

The twentieth Furlong lies between the London Way on the west part, and the Common Watercourse on the east, beginning next Hoghton brigg, proceeding north

*The Prior of the gift  
of the Duke.* } One Close next the bridge

R. dmc<sup>2</sup> One Close, called Spital Meadow

R. W. Baker, 1 close, lying triangularly. 6<sup>d</sup>. rent  
per annum

*S. Wighton.* W. Waudham, 1 close

*S. Wighton.* W. Baker, 1 close

*S. Wighton.* The same, another close

R. C<sup>o</sup>. W. Waunden, 1 close

R. The friars minor hold the next four messuages,  
9 curtilages, in pure and perpetual alms: rent  
per annum, 6<sup>s</sup>. 1<sup>d</sup>.



The same friars hold there two acres by the gift  
of the Duke

The Prior holds in right of the Church the messuage of  
Master Edmunds

The Prior holds of the gift of the Duke the messuage, some-  
time called "le dowe," now called "le beere"

R. Two cottages.

*Infra villam.*

*Friday Market.* Beginning at the house of the Friars, pro-  
ceeding west by the Market

R. The friars minor hold their house there in pure  
and perpetual alms

Also the messuage called the White Horse

Also 6 cottages

R. C°. Thomas Marchall holds a messuage with curtilage

R. C°. John Oldman holds a messuage and curtilage

R. C°. W. Waudam holds a messuage

R. C°. Katherine Ellis holds a cottage now of the Rector  
of Snoring, 6<sup>d</sup>.

R. C°. Richard Grene holds a messuage

R. C°. Thomas Flowerdew

R. Robert Angus \* holds a messuage, called the  
"crownyd Lyon"

Between the King's Way and Friday Market, proceeding  
west to Thornegate Sty

Eight cottages, J. Gotts

*The Prior ex do.* Messuage, called "le Mone and sterre"

„ Also holds divers messuages to "Ambry lane"

„ Messuage, called "le Cokk"

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\* Robert Angos appears in the Accounts of the Gilds of Walsingham in the Chapter House, Westminster. In 1540 a Guildhall was built, and there was "Delivered to Robert Angos and Robert Gottes, towarde y<sup>e</sup> Gylde halle byldyng, 31<sup>st</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>."—*Norwich Volume of Archaeological Institute*, p. 148.

- „ Messuage  
 „ Messuage  
 „ Messuage, called “le sarasynds hede”  
 „ Messuage, called “le swan,” one portion of which  
     at the back pertained to the “Angell,” with  
     the stables and edifices thereupon built  
 Messuage, called the Bull, whereof the back part  
     built upon, with many stables and chambers  
     above, pertained to the Angel  
 p. Messuage, waste, called the Angel  
 R. Messuage, waste, called the Angel  
 R. C°. W. Maltby, messuage, called the Ram  
 „ Geo. Miles, messuage  
 „ Nich<sup>s</sup>. Calver, messuage  
 „ John Tyrry, cottage  
 „ Olyver Raymes, cottage, abutting upon Westgate  
 „ Richard Green, cottage  
 Robert Litster, messuage  
 T. Walpole, cottage

Now beginning next Westgate, returning south by Stonegate,  
 and then towards *Knights Street*, round by the frontage  
 towards Westgate

One of the messuages called the “Chekker”  
 Another said to be Copyhold of the Queen  
 Another called “bolt and toun.”

*North townes ende.* Beginning next the pasture of William  
 Kemp, beyond the tenement of Stephen Black, proceed-  
 ing south, towards *Knights Gate*

Nich<sup>s</sup>. Calver  
 The same  
 The same

- p. li. The same holds a messuage with curtilage, *some*  
     *time of Stephen Blakk*  
 R. C°. James Gresham, cottage with curtilage, whereof  
     one rod copyhold

- p. li. The same holds a *parcel of land of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary*
- R. C°. *The same holds a parcel of land, sometime a common lane, now rented at 1<sup>d</sup>. per annum \**
- The same holds a messuage, with garden annexed, of divers fees
- The same holds one rood with a malthouse
- R. The same holds half an acre
- Also holds a piece of land, containing in width 7 feet, between stone bounds
- Also a garden with fish pools
- R. C°. Also two purprises (*encroachments*)
- Robert Cambell holds a cottage with curtilage, rent 1½<sup>d</sup>.
- Also a cottage with curtilage of Croftland, rent 4½<sup>d</sup>.
- R. Isaac . . . . holds messuage called "White Hert"
- p<sup>r</sup>. John Deynes holds a messuage, at a rent of 2<sup>s</sup>. per annum
- R. C°. The same holds a cottage with a garden annexed, at a rent of 10<sup>d</sup>.
- The Prior in right of the Church holds 4 cottages
- p. li. Huberd holds *messuage of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary*
- M. Stone holds messuage called the "Madynhede," rent 12<sup>d</sup>. per annum, and for a purprise 1<sup>d</sup>.

Beginning next the Priory Wall, proceeding south:

*inter aliâ,*

Citus manerii

Robert Browne† holds a messuage called the "gryffon," with grange and granary

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\* This is the lane leased to the Prior in the 10th year of Richard II. See p. 175.

† Walsingham Gild Accounts, 1532, amongst the receipts: "And for 40s. stock out of the hands of Stephen Browne, for Robert Browne his father,

John Gotts holds messuage called the Bell  
Messuage and four cottages  
Water Mill.

Within the town, on the east side of the water, beginning on the south of the church, between the Common Way and Common Rivulet, proceeding south towards Hoghton Field :

*inter aliâ,*

There is a piece of common land lying beyond the water there, with the butts thereupon being.

Now returning by the same way, beginning at Thyrdale Sty, proceeding northerly towards the Parish Church :

*inter aliâ,*

There is a parcel of common called Lyng borrow hill

A tenement called "Paradise."

Church Street, beginning next the Cemetery on the west side of the way proceeding south :

*inter aliâ,*

Richard Weston holds a messuage, some time of William Widder, called the Crane.

Returning by the east side of the same way, proceeding northerly towards the Church :

A pightle, 8 cottages, and a messuage, all copyhold of the King.

Messuage and cottage, situate between Mill and Priory Wall, proceeding north :

2 cottages and a messuage, copyhold of the Queen.

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and it was given to him for his expenses about the profit of the town of Walsingham, and it was agreed to by the brethren."—*Norwich Volume, A. I., p. 150.*

Land and tenements between Cemetery and corner towards  
Priory Barns, proceeding north :

There are there five cottages called Alms  
houses

p. li. Nicholas Marshall\* holds messuage and land con-  
taining one acre, *of the Chapel of the Blessed  
Mary*

The same man holds messuage called the George,  
with two acres and a half in adjoining close.

Furlong at the end of the aforesaid pieces, proceeding south :  
*inter aliâ,*

7 acres called Nets hill.

Furlong lying east and west, beginning south of the Way  
leading from the Parish Church towards Hindringham,  
proceeding southward towards thyrdale styce.

Furlong lying at the west end of the aforesaid Furlong, pro-  
ceeding westerly towards lyng-borrowhill :

\* \* \*

Bonds Hill

\* \* \*

7 acres, called Wellers Wonge, near Hoghton felde

7 acres called Wade londe.

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\* Walsingham Gild Accounts. Nicholas Marshall, Nicholas Bradd, Ed-  
mond Walpole, and William Chapman were "skevyns" of the Guild of our  
Blessed Lady, St. George, and St. Anne, in the 33rd Henry VIII.—*Norwich  
Volume, A. I., p. 153*

## Binham Priory.

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BUT three miles to the north-east of Walsingham are the remains of another extensive priory,—that of Binham. It is of older foundation than Walsingham, having been founded by Peter de Valoines, a nephew of the Conqueror and Albredda his wife, before 1093.\* The endowment does not, however, appear to have been completed until the time of Henry the First, between 1101 and 1107.†

It was made a cell to St. Alban's, in the same manner as Lewes was subject to Cluny: it was to pay a mark of silver to St. Alban's, and to provide for the reception of the abbot of that house once a year, he to have only thirteen horses in his train. The number of monks was not to be less than eight, and the heirs or successors of the founder were to remain patrons.‡ The dedication was to St. Mary.

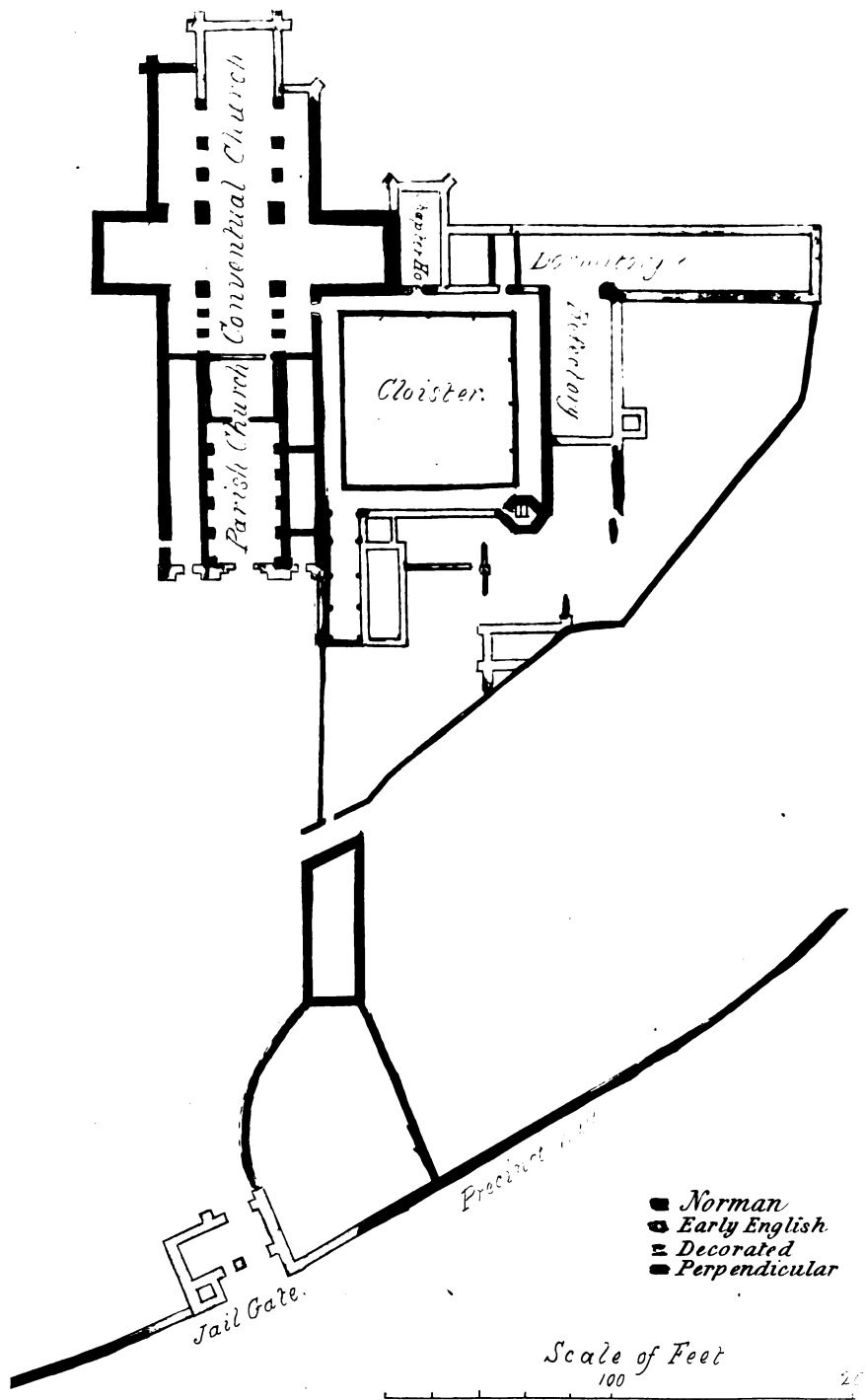
On rising ground in the midst of the precinct, to the south of a small stream on the banks of which traces may still be seen of the Prior's water-mill, stands the nave of the church of the Monastery, still used (as it appears to have been from the foundation) as the parish church, although shorn of its

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\* Matthew Paris notices the existence of this cell in the time of Paul, Abbot of St. Alban's, who died in 1093.—*New Monasticon*, Vol. V., p. 341.

† Richard, Abbot of St. Benet of Holme, one of the witnesses to the foundation charter, was not elected till after 1101; and Robert, Abbot of St. Edmund's, died in 1106 or 1107.—*Ibid.*, 341.

‡ *Ibid.*, 341.



# **BINHAM PRIORY.**

1853.

THE END OF THE WORLD



original proportions, the north and south aisles being gone. It is from this circumstance, of its appropriation to the parish, that we are now able to see so much of this beautiful building. Of the choir and transepts, a few shattered walls and columns alone remain; whilst here and there to the south, fragments of walls and depressions of surface mark the position of the cloister and monastic buildings.

The walls marked black upon the plan, point out what now remains of the Norman edifice. All the architectural features of this date are of the plainest character, the billet moulding being almost the only ornamental feature introduced internally. The chevron and other patterns, usually believed to indicate a late period of Norman construction, are not now to be found in any part of the building: Mr. Kerrich has sketches in his note-books of a chevron moulding said to be in the nave, and one in the south transept.

In the reign of King John, some time subsequent to the year 1210,\* Robert Fitzwalter claimed to be patron, and was particularly friendly with Thomas, the then prior. The Abbot of St. Alban's removed the prior (which under the foundation deed he does not appear to have had any right to do) on account of this friendship with Fitzwalter, who had been engaged in a contest with St. Alban's about a wood called Northaw Wood, in which he had failed. Thereupon, Fitzwalter, much enraged, produced what Matthew Paris† calls a false deed of patronage, by which it was provided, that the Prior of Binham should not be removed without the consent of the patron, and he forthwith besieged the Monastery. Matthew Paris feelingly relates the sufferings of the monks, who were reduced to drink the water from the rain-water pipes, and to eat bread made of bran. The King was in-

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\* In the note of Fitzwalter's claim in the "Abbreviatio Placitorum," he speaks of certain acts of the Abbot of St. Alban's, "when he was with the King in Ireland."—See *New Monasticon*, Vol. V., p. 342.

† M. Paris: edit. 1684, p. 1049.—*New Monast.*, Vol. V., p. 349.

formed of Fitzwalter's proceedings. "Ho! by God's feet, (swore he, as was his habit,) either I or Fitzwalter must be king in England!" and, exalting his voice when the full truth was unfolded, "Ho! by God's feet, who ever heard of such things in peaceable times in a Christian land!" and he despatched a force, and the siege was raised. At this time the kingdom was under interdict,\* and Fitzwalter fled. He ever refused to give up the "forged" deed, and died in the time of Henry III., many years after his attack on the Monastery; but Adam Fitzwilliam, his friend and fellow-soldier, knowing where he had hidden the deed, gave it up; and gave also to the abbey of St. Alban's a silver cup, gilt, in expiation of his share in the offence.

The ability with which the ecclesiastics of those times turned seemingly adverse circumstances to the advantage of the church is very well known; and in this case the opportunity offered by this attack on them does not appear to have been neglected. Judging from the works of the Early English period still remaining, they must have contrived to obtain large sums, either from their enemies or from those who commiserated their sufferings and losses. The lower portion of the west end, which is of this date, is a beautiful specimen of the style in its purity. The whole front would have been extremely fine but for the great west window. This has been highly praised by a great authority, and but for one blemish would have added to, instead of detracted from, the effect: the side shafts are poor, and the arch springs from the capitals of them, not with the magnificent curve observable in other parts of the composition, but at an angle of no great divergence, yet sufficient to damage the general effect. It consisted of "two principal lights and a foliated circle in the head, each light subdivided in the same manner."

Above the gable of the western front is an Early English

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\* This must therefore have happened about 1213.

bell-cot, in which hung the bell pertaining to the parish church of Binham.

Some of the westernmost arches of the triforium and clerestory being also of the Early English period, an erroneous impression has been received by some inquirers that this was the original western front, and that it has not replaced a Norman one; that we are to see in this a judicious management of small means—a church commenced in the Norman period at the east end, and gradually carried on towards the west, and not finally completed until the Early English style was fully developed.

A careful examination will dispel this idea. It will be found that the Early English has replaced the Norman at the west end, either from dilapidation, or from injury received during the siege. The changes are far too abrupt to have been caused in the manner suggested. Almost all the Norman work is of an early period of the style, a century, if not more, older than any of the Early English work; the only exception being some chevron ornaments which Mr. Kerrich notices in the south transept and nave.

But before going further into detail of the arrangements of the buildings or their architectural features, it will be better to add what little remains to be told of the recorded history of the Monastery.

The original foundation was for eight monks. We learn by a writ of King Edward II., in his fourteenth year,\* arising out of the continual disputes between the cell and the superior monastery, that there were at that time a prior and thirteen monks, whose names are given:

William de Somerton, Prior.

1. Nicholas Spark
2. Stephen de Dunstable
3. Ralph de St. Albans
4. William de Stok

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\* *New Monasticon*, Vol. V., p. 350.

5. William Quatermain
6. Bartholomew de Berney
7. Robert de Geremuth
8. William de Wetheringsett
9. John de Romesey
10. John de Wathamstede
11. Adam de Wittenham
12. Simon de Binham
13. Robert de Westerfeld.

The Priory continued a cell of St. Alban's until the visitation by Sir Robert Ryche, one of Cromwell's visitors, who readily suggested a pretext for its suppression. In a letter to Cromwell, still extant, he says: "My lord, I entend to suppress Bynham before my return, which pretendyth itself to be a Sell to Seynt Albonyes, yf ye advertyse me not to the contrary. I have fynes and other matters of record levied by them not namyng the Abbot of Seynt Albanys: also continually they make leases under there owne seale, not namyng the Abbott."\*

At the suppression the number of monks had fallen to six, and the total revenues were about £150.; the superior attractions of its great neighbour at Walsingham probably drawing almost everything to its own coffers.

The site and possessions of the Priory were granted to Thomas Paston, fifth son of Sir William Paston, Knight, in the 31st Henry VIII. Spelman, in his *History of Sacrilege*, says, "Binham Priory was granted by King Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Paston. He left it to Mr. Edward Paston, his son and heir, who, living above eighty years, continued the possession of it till . . . . Caroli R., and having buried his son and heir apparent, left it then unto his grandchild, Mr. . . . Paston, the third owner of it, and thereby now in the wardship of the king. Mr. Edward Paston, many

\* *New Monast.*, Vol. V., p. 352.

years since, was desirous to build a mansion-house upon or near the priory, and attempting for that purpose to clear some of the ground, a piece of wall fell upon a workman and slew him. Perplexed with the accident in the beginning of this business, he gave it wholly over, and would by no means all his life after be persuaded to re-attempt upon it, but built his mansion-house, a very fair one, at Appleton."\*

Very much of the ground on which the domestic buildings stood must have been levelled at this time, and a commencement of the building appears to have been made at the junction of the refectory and dormitory.

But for the circumstance of the nave of the church being parochial, all would have most likely been destroyed at that period. From that time to the present, the nave and a small piece of ground west and north of it, for a cemetery, have been occupied by the parish, and the rest of the precinct afforded a grazing ground for the tenants of the Binham Abbey farm.

The precinct is entered from the west by a gate called the "Jail Gate," of which the remains are considerable, and all of the Early English period. It does not range with the west front, although nearly directly west of it, but fronts south-west; and on the left of the inner arch of the gate is a squint running through the wall in a line with the centre of the great west door of the church.

The name of "Jail Gate" is remarkable, and the description of the gate-house at Bridlington, now known as the Bayle Gate, shows the appropriation of these gates. That at Bridlington was built "four-square, of tower fashion, well builded with freestone and covered with lead. And on the south side of the same gate-house is a porter's lodge, with a chimney, a round stair leading up to a high chamber, wherein the three weeks' court is always kept in, with a chimney in

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\* P. 253; and see *New Monasticon*, Vol. V., p. 343.

the same, and between the stair foot and the same high chamber where the court is kept, be two proper chambers, one above the other, with chimneys. In the north side of the same gatehouse is there a prison for offenders within the tower, called the Kydcott, and in the same north side is a like pair of stairs, leading up to one high chamber in the same tower, with a chimney."\*

The rooms here are not so numerous, and are all on the north side of the gate; but there is something answering to "Kydcott" projecting from the west front on the north side of the arch.

The foundations on the south side of the gate, extending "priory-ward," may be those of the stables and lodgings for strangers.†

The church was cruciform, having a cemetery on the north side and the priory buildings on the south. It was, as I have said, erected in the Early Norman period, and very much of what remains is of that date. I should conceive that the original intention was that the nave should be used as the parish church. The wall of separation, built in the Early English period, at the third pillar from the central tower, possibly replaced some less substantial division, as the width of the arches west of this screen is greater than of those to the east of it. In this screen a small low door on the right of the altar formed the means of communication with the church of the Monastery, for those who served at the parish altar.

The floor of the interior of the church has been so much raised, that three Early English sedilia south of the altar have their seats level with the floor, and from the peculiar appearance thus given to them, have been the source of much speculation and inquiry.

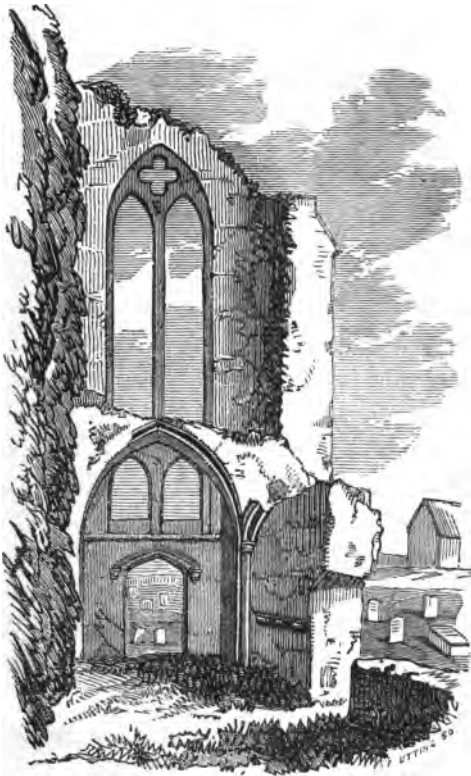
The west end, with the bell-cot above it, and some of the arches of the triforium and clerestory adjoining it, are, as I before said, Early English.

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\* *Archæologia*, Vol. XIX., p. 270.

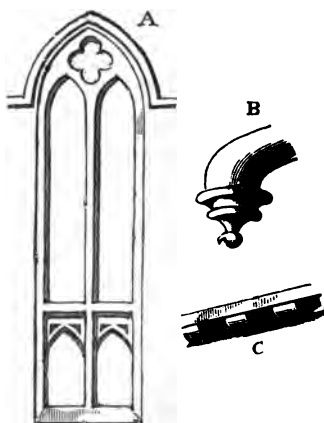
† See Bridlington Survey.

There is a peculiarity in the west windows of the aisles which has often been remarked: the transom at about a third of their height, a very rare occurrence in Early English windows; but the main object of this transom is seen from within. At the time the west end was altered, the Norman vaulting of the aisles of the nave was destroyed, and a loftier vaulting substituted, which permitted the lower portion of these windows to give light into the aisles, and raised the floor of the triforium level with the upper line of the transom. The wood-cut beneath will illustrate this curious feature.



INTERIOR, WEST END OF THE NORTH AISLE, BINHAM PRIORY.

This illustration also shows the original Norman billet moulding on the inner side of the north wall, more at large, at C. The pattern of the terminal of the drip moulding of the door is figured on a larger scale at B.



DETAILS.

The south aisle has long been down, and the arches opening into it walled up; the north aisle has been treated in a similar manner within memory. It is represented as existing in 1811 in the view in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*.\*

In addition to the alterations of the Early English period, there are several of a subsequent date observable in the nave. The rood-screen and benches are Perpendicular, and several of the capitals of the shafts, it will be observed, were made new in that period. The font, a very beautiful one, with the seven sacraments on the upper panels, and saints in niches below, resembling very closely that in Little Walsingham church, engraved in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*,† is also Perpendicular.

The rood-screen, at the Reformation, was painted over with

\* Vol. III., p. 72.

† Vol. IV., p. 107.



white, and covered with texts of scripture in a large black letter. Portions of the heads and drapery of the saints, originally painted on the panels, appear here and there; and in one place a female hand, holding a fragment of a wheel, indicates the position of St. Katherine; on another panel, the figure of Henry the Sixth, who, although never canonized, appears on many of our screens as a saint, may be made out. The staircase to the rood-loft is formed in the fifth pillar on the south side, and has a Perpendicular doorway into the church.

At the Reformation the east end of the church was built up as we now see it, and the transepts and monastic church devoted to ruin.



VIEW FROM THE SOUTH TRANSEPT, BINHAM PRIORY.

The present appearance of the choir and transepts at their junction may be gathered from the view taken from the site of the south transept, looking north-west; beyond this point, eastward, the foundations are level with the earth. My plan at this point is made from actual excavation, and it will be perceived that here, as at Castle Acre and Thetford, the east end has been lengthened (here in the Decorated period) and the north aisle of the choir lengthened and widened in the Perpendicular period.

The south transept is nearly completely buried: the fragment of it on the south side of the tower pier, and a few fragments of the east wall, are all that remain above ground.

An excavation to the west of it disclosed part of the jambs of a poor Perpendicular door leading from the cloister into the church.

The chapter-house was not a very large one, and the walls of it, which now exist, are of the Decorated period.

I have carefully traced the foundations of the domestic buildings as far as time permitted me; but it has unfortunately happened here, as in other places, that the time I have been obliged to select to make excavations has been harvest-time, when labourers were scarcely to be had; and I have been, therefore, obliged to leave much undone that at another time I might have been able to have effected in half the time I have given to the work.

Eastward of the chapter-house, a long line of wall extends far beyond the cloister southward. That portion of it next the chapter-house was, I should suppose, the dormitory. The refectory occupies its usual position, south of the cloister.

The infirmary, which I believe to have stood east of the dormitory, is so entirely gone as to present no traces whatever, and I had not time sufficient for excavation in that direction.

The foundations on the west side of the cloister are very numerous. Some of the corbels for the vaulting of the pas-

sage of entrance to the cloister are just discernible above-ground, and I traced most of them by a slight excavation. The rooms above and to the south of it, might, like those of Bridlington Priory, have been the Prior's lodgings. These, with a large room occupying the rest of the south side of the cloister, are of the Decorated period. A ruined fragment of a sexagonal staircase, of the Perpendicular period, was found at the south-west corner.

Beyond this, west and south, were many foundations. Walls of the Early English period, to the west, retained part of the arch of a small door, which had been built up subsequently. These may have been part of the hall and lodgings for strangers and guests, and must have been destroyed in the Perpendicular period, when a wall (shown on the plan) which much reduced the size of the precinct, appears to have been built over them.

There is a curious impression of the Binham seal appended to a deed in the treasury of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, a facsimile of which has been made by Mr. Ready. On the obverse, the Virgin and Child appear in a niche within a decorated shrine, with the legend—"Commune Domus Beate Marie D<sup>i</sup> Bynham." On the reverse, a soldier, with an enormous sword, strikes off St. Alban's head. St. Alban is on his knees, with the cross in his raised hands, and the head falls at the feet of the soldier, who, at the same time, extends his left hand to receive his eyes, which are, as the legend tells, dropping from his head: the legend around refers to this—"Martir obit victor privatur lumine lictor."

Unfortunately, Mr. Ready has retained no note of the deed from which this seal was taken, and a search has been since made for it in the Trinity Hall treasury, without success.

There is in the chapter-house at Westminster an earlier seal of this house, attached to an agreement between the Priory and Gunnora de Estsexia, about land called "West-leia." It is undated, but early,—probably about the latter

part of the twelfth century. The seal is oval, about four inches in length, and of white wax. On the obverse, is a full-length figure of the Virgin, seated on a stool or bench without a back, holding on her lap with one hand an open book, and with the other, pointing to a figure of a child (though this is rather doubtful) also on her lap. Towards her, on her right hand, a male figure approaches, habited in a loose robe, and having large wings. This may possibly be intended for a representation of the Annunciation. The legend is somewhat broken, and reads—" . . . IGILLVM EC . LE . SC . . MARIE DE BINEHAM." There is no reverse. I have much wished to engrave these seals, and am sorry to be unable to do so.

The later seal, before described, so completely identifies them with St. Alban's, that it is hard to believe the Visitors doubted this house was a cell of St. Alban's. They might continually "make leases under their own seal, without naming the Abbot," and we have ample evidence of that fact from the seal itself.

## Buckenham Priory and Castle.

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WHEN the ancient history of the County comes to be more thoroughly investigated, the Buckenhams and their immediate neighbourhood will assuredly assume a far more important position than they have hitherto done. We have here immense earthworks of the British and Roman period, about which history is a blank until after the Conquest.

On approaching them from Attleburgh, we cross at a mile from that town the remains of a fine bank and ditch which extended across the elevated ground between marshy tracts for nearly three miles. It does not run directly straight, but is somewhat capricious in its course: it commences in the meadows near a farm-house called "The Leys," and thence runs in a north-easterly direction for about a mile. In following it, I for some time thought it had there ended; but a friend who was with me shortly after detected traces of it crossing a turnip field, inclining northward, following which we presently came again upon unmistakable fragments of it, leading us beyond Besthorpe into the marshes north of Attleburgh, where we lost it again in the car near Slut's Hole Lane.

It is called Bunn's Bank,—a corruption, I conceive, of "Bunde Bank;" and it is still, for a considerable portion of its course, the *boundary* between Attleburgh and Buckenham. This seems to indicate its existence in Saxon times; and banks

of a similar character and of very ancient origin are well known to have been turned to such a purpose on the setting out of parishes. Indeed, this bank appears to be one of those divisions between the early tribes, like that recently destroyed in Launditch hundred, from which that hundred derived its name, and those on the west side of the county and in Cambridgeshire. It is a lofty bank, with the side towards Attleburgh steep, the other side sloping to a ditch of half the width of the bank, and now very much overgrown with trees and underwood. Blomefield, in his account of Attleburgh, mentions that "William de Fossato" dwelt at Attleburgh in Henry the Second's time, and, in 1285, William his son; and that he and his descendants were called "atte the Dyke, Dikes, or Dix," from whence he concludes that Attleburgh was fortified; but there are no indications of any earthworks but this dike near the town.

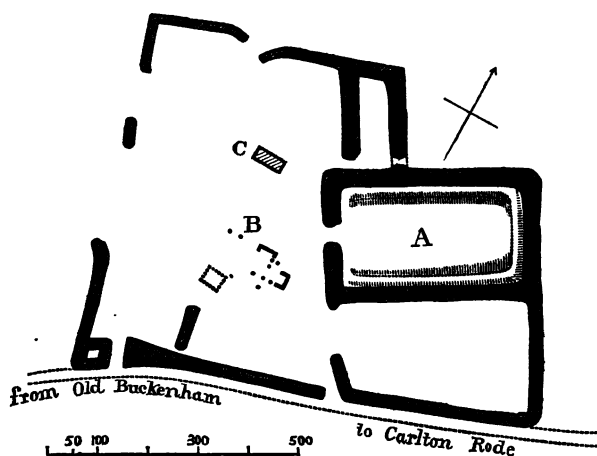
Beyond the bank, at three miles from Attleburgh, in low marshy ground, is the village of Old Buckenham. Water stands about in the green, and small streams run through the road-side ditches. A road running from the village Green, in a north-easterly direction, brings us in a short time to the Abbey Farm.

The farm-house (C), part of which is as old as the time of Edward VI., stands a little north of the site of the Priory Church, the remains of which are extremely small, and are indicated in the subjoined plan, at B.

The numerous ditches around seem to be most of them of ancient date, although not all equally so, as we shall presently see.

The Priory was founded by William d'Albini before 1156, dedicated to the Honour of God, St. Mary, St. James, and All Saints, and was occupied by Black Canons of St. Austin.

The ruins stand in the centre of the precinct: even in Blomefield's time there were few remaining, but the foundations could then be easily traced. There were then dis-



cernible, a nave, with aisles, two transepts, choir, central tower, and a north vestry; the monastery stood on the north side of it, and was a good square court. These are all gone now, and nothing is to be seen above ground but such of the foundations of the church as are shown in the above plan.

The most interesting portion of the site is to the north-east of the church,—an oblong enclosure surrounded by a fine bank and ditch (A), with an entrance on the south-west side. It is expressly referred to in the grant by William d'Albini: he gave the monks, amongst other large possessions, the site of the Castle, which was to be destroyed, and eighty acres of land,—“cum sede castelli lxxx acras et castellum diruendum.” It was destroyed, and the materials, I suppose, used about the buildings of the Priory. The banks were left, and enclosed the Priory garden.

When the Castle was erected, of which D'Albini thus disposed, does not appear; but there can be no doubt that the builders had appropriated the site of a small Roman camp, which again assumed its ancient appearance, and retains it to the present day. The only trace left of the destroyed Castle is a portion of a stone sewer into the ditch on the north side.

The connexion of this camp with others in the county may hereafter become clear, when we are able to bring investigations of these subjects into some systematic form, aided by the new lights which Dr. Guest and other able men have thrown on the early occupation of the country. Why it was placed in this neighbourhood we shall speedily see, if we again take the road and proceed to the site where D'Albini constructed his new Castle.

Returning into the high road from Attleburgh to New Buckenham, another mile or so brings us to the spot where the roads from Diss and Kenninghall meet it, in front of the earthworks of New Buckenham.

Across a meadow, through which a small stream winds, is seen the lofty bank of a circular earthwork, now covered with tall trees, with a wide ditch surrounding it. At the point of junction of the three roads, a trace of an ancient road across the meadow to the castle gate can still be discovered (E in plan). The modern road, however, turns to the east for some short distance, and then runs abruptly to the north, bringing us to the chapel of St. Mary, now a barn (D), when it again turns directly east to the town of New Buckenham, an opposite road leading round by the side of the ditch to the Castle gate.

The history of this Castle may be very briefly stated. We have seen that William d'Albini removed his castle to this spot shortly before 1136. It descended, in the same manner as Rising Castle, (p. 26) through that family, until the death of Hugh d'Albini in 1243, leaving four co-heirs.

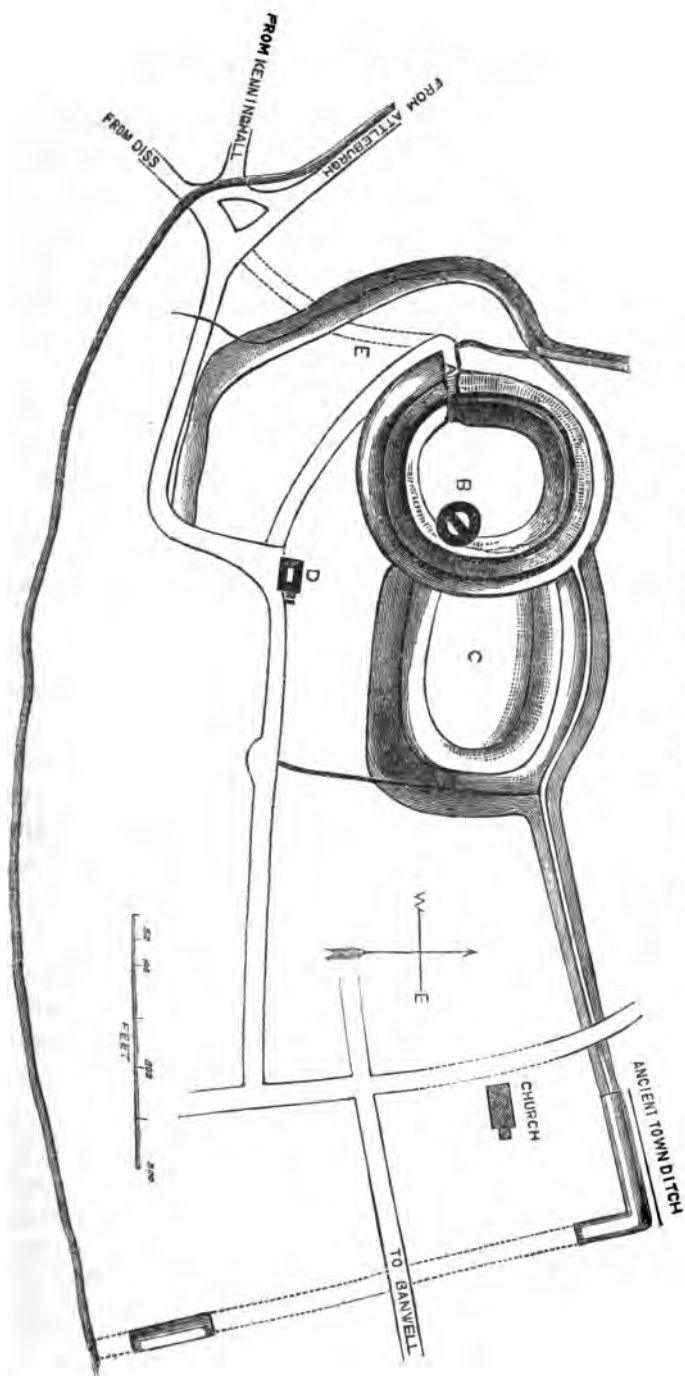
In the partition then made, Buckenham fell to Robert de Tateshall: he made it his principal seat, and it descended from him to five successive Roberts de Tateshall,\* the last dying a

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\* The history of this family is very obscure and incorrect, as given by Blomefield and others. Mr. Alan Swatman has made very large collections towards clearing it up, which he would kindly have placed at my disposal,



NEW BUCKENHAM CASTLE AND EARTHWORKS.



minor in 1310, and leaving his inheritance divisible amongst his three aunts, Emma or Amy, wife of Sir Osbert de Cailly, Knight; Joan, wife of Sir Robert de Dryby, Knight; and Isabel, wife of Sir John de Orreby, Knight. Thomas de Cailly, son of Sir Osbert, who had the largest share of the Buckenham manor and the castle, died in 1316, leaving Adam, son of Sir Roger de Clifton, by Margaret, his only sister, his heir, nine years old. In the Cliftons it continued till 1447, when Margaret, only daughter of Sir John Clifton, who had married Sir Andrew Ogard, Knight,\* died before her father, issueless, and Sir Andrew dying in 1454, the estate reverted to Elizabeth, her aunt, who had married Sir John Knevet, Knight. In that family it remained until 1649, when Sir Philip Knevet sold it to Hugh Audley, having, according to Blomefield, first demolished the Castle.

Crossing a modern brick bridge (A) and passing through an opening in the huge bank, where once stood a gate-house, we enter on the site of the Castle (B).

Of the buildings, none remain but a low circular structure at the south-east, evidently part of the original Castle. It is of rubble, eleven feet in thickness, and with a wall dividing it in the centre; has neither window nor staircase, and was probably the dungeon of the establishment. No vestige of other wall remains, except the outer one, which runs along the top of the bank, and is clearly discernible all round. The area is about 216 feet in diameter. The great earthwork was cut away considerably to make a space for the existing tower.

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but it is hardly within my plan to devote so much space to a point of interest almost solely to genealogists. Sir Thomas Phillips, too, informed me he had enough relating to the Tateshalls to fill several volumes.

\* William of Worcester, in his note-book in the Corpus Library at Cambridge, has an extract, apparently from some old accounts he had seen, stating that on the marriage of Margaret £600. 4s. were settled on her out of Buckenham; and for ornaments on her marriage, beyond that sum, 204s. had been laid out on "three robes of purple gold and perseblewe."

The only other building belonging to the Castle, now in existence, is the barn to which I have alluded. At the west end of it a brick house had been built by some of the Knevels in the sixteenth century, all of which is now down, except the wall next the barn. The upper part of this wall is of brick, and, incorporated with it, is some stone-work, which has much puzzled all who have examined it. It could not have been a fire-place, although there are traces of a chimney over it, for there were *two* openings close together. It could not be a window, for the chimney certainly extended over it. I was fortunate enough to detect its purpose, and a view of the wall in the interior of the barn fully confirmed my idea of its original design. The barn was the Norman chapel of St. Mary, and the mysterious apertures were those of the ancient bell-cot! So perfect is it that, if the brick-work about it were pulled away, it might again be devoted to its original purpose.

Plain Norman doors and windows are also discernible in the interior of the barn, but the apse has either fallen or been cut away, and has been replaced by a modern brick wall; what remains of the ancient wall towards the east, shows clearly that its eastern termination was apsidal.

During the time the Tateshalls held the estate, in the reign of Henry III., about 1263, the Castle sustained a siege. Sir Robert having stood firm in the Royal cause, Sir Henry Hastings, who was extremely active in the opposite cause, besieged him here. The neighbouring country having declared openly for the King, furnished Sir Robert with supplies of men and of arms, and gave him every assistance; among others, Sir Robert de Mortimer sent a servant, Leonine, to the Castle with some private information to the garrison. Sir Henry being obliged in consequence to raise the siege, marched in revenge to Sir Robert's manors in the county, burning and destroying the property found upon them.

Mr. Richard Taylor, in a MS. History of the Castle in the possession of Mr. Palmer, the present proprietor, suggests that some of the works surrounding the Castle, and which appear so to have mystified Blomefield, were thrown up during this investment. This seems very probable, particularly with respect to a bank west of the ditch running directly in front of the Castle gate. He also suggests, that the ditch running obliquely into the moat sixty yards north of the gate, was dug at the same time to lay the moat dry.

Denuded of all its buildings, halls, and lodgings,—great towers and fortifications all levelled,—the most interesting feature to the antiquary remains. The plan of the earthworks in Blomefield's plate is absurd: one can hardly imagine any one who had seen the place could have made such a sketch of it.

The plan inserted in this volume is from actual survey, and, thanks to the ready aid of Sir Thomas Beavor, I think I may vouch for its complete accuracy.

But what a different form do the earthworks now assume! and after our experience at Castle Acre, Rising, Norwich, Hedingham, how unmistakable the characteristics presented to our view! We have here, again, the British circular-work, with the horse-shoe work to the east of it; and in the existence of this magnificent work, we may probably account for the Roman station at Old Buckenham.

It would be an inquiry of much interest to me to see whether similar earthworks to these I have enumerated extend into other parts of the kingdom, or how far they are confined to these eastern counties. This it will probably be never possible for me to do; but I trust some one with more leisure will set earnestly to work and carry on what I have begun.

To return, however, to Buckenham, we have not far to go for other indications of early settlement in the neighbourhood. In 1815, Mr. R. Taylor noted that a fine tumulus

stood on the common east of the Castle works, and about half a mile distant; another stood in Cuffer Lane, about a quarter of a mile north of the Castle, where there is now a farmyard, but the road winds round the spot, marking distinctly where it stood; both these are gone, but traces of others may be noticed on the common.

In Harlingwood Lane, near where Cuffer Lane falls into it, in a plantation called "The Folly," is a part of a very large bank, the rest of which has been carried away and spread over adjacent lands.

The erection of New Buckenham Castle caused a town to spring up to the east of it, which was surrounded by a ditch, of which several portions exist, which will be found noted in the plan. A charter of 1493, quoted by Blomefield, relating to a messuage adjoining the church, describes it as abutting on the west on St. Martin's church, and on the east on the Burgh ditch.\*

The church is a fine Perpendicular structure, and contains many memorials of the Knevets, a curious screen, and other matters of interest. There is some flint and stone panelling on the exterior of the church of considerable elegance, and well worthy the examination of the architect.

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\* Blomefield, Vol. I., p. 395.

## Bromholm Priory.

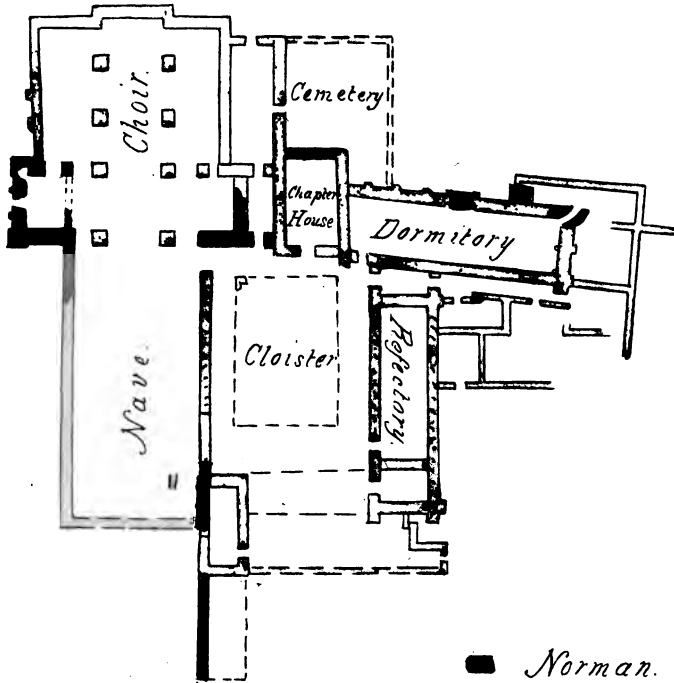
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It is recorded that in the year 1113 William de Glanville founded at Bromholm, in the parish of Bacton, a little village on the north-east coast and within sight of the sea, a priory for seven or eight Cluniac monks, as a cell to Castle Acre, and that the priory church was dedicated to St. Andrew. His grant was confirmed by Bartholomew de Glanville, his eldest son, who added considerably to his father's endowment.

The original building is stated to have been very small, and no portion of it appears to remain. The oldest portion of the present remains is the fragment which now stands apart from the rest of the ruins, and formed the north transept of the priory church. This portion is of the close of the twelfth century, when the Norman style was gradually fading away before the more elegant proportions of the Early English.

The architectural features of the exterior of this building are very plain and massive, and do not prepare us for the light and elegant character of the interior, which displays many features of a Transitional character. The south side, which opened into the main body of the church, and most of the windows, being walled up,—wooden floors of doubtful stability being introduced, and the place made a sort of hospital for maimed agricultural implements,—used also as a wood-house, the lower part being appropriated for a cartshed,—I was prevented giving, what I very much wished to do, a careful drawing of the interior.

F



\* Gatehouse 297 feet  
due North of this  
point.

- Norman.
- ⇒ Early English.
- Perpendicular.
- ⇒ Mr. Spurdens' Survey 1822.

100 200 feet.

# BROMHOLM PRIORY. 1854.





The whole style of the interior, although Norman, is undoubtedly Norman of a very late period.

From the complete destruction of many of the walls it would be a matter of much difficulty to make out the arrangements of the other parts of the monastery; but the Benedictine priories being arranged originally on very much the same plan, a careful collation of the survey I have made with surveys of other priories, where the buildings are more perfect, will materially assist us. This must, however, be done with great caution, as in most cases some small variance occurs, and towards the end of the fifteenth century a great laxity of discipline arose, particularly in small out-of-the-way monasteries like this, and buildings erected for one purpose were then appropriated to others.

Much important information respecting the arrangements of monastic buildings is also to be gathered from the narratives of the old chroniclers: they wonderfully aid us in identifying the several buildings. On the other hand, the plans help us considerably in understanding the narratives of the chroniclers. I would call to mind the admirable account by Mr. Stanley of the death of Becket, which first appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, and has since been very properly published in a separate form, and which condenses the relations of the numerous chroniclers into a succinct narrative. Following the course of his history with a plan of the convent and church of Canterbury before us, it is astonishing the clearness with which we are able to understand all the details of that remarkable event. Many little points which formerly puzzled and threw doubt on the tale,—statements made by different chroniclers, which seemed contradictory,—are all explained, and, by a knowledge of the plan of the buildings, made marvellously clear, serving to verify the accuracy of all, and to fix that extraordinary event upon the mind with a vividness truly astonishing.

Ingulphus's account of the destruction of Croyland Abbey

by fire may be also named: read with a plan of Castle Acre Priory before us, we may almost imagine that place to have been the scene of the destruction he narrates.

Although the ruin here has been so extensive as to entirely obliterate all trace of great part of the church and other buildings, I have had placed at my service a plan of the foundations, made by the late Mr. Spurdens in 1822, when they were much more distinct; and I have placed on my plan, as accurately as I could, the foundations visible when Mr. Spurdens made his, which are not now to be seen, or have since been built over with modern walls. I have coloured all these portions of my plan brown. The earliest portions now remaining are the transept and a part of the south wall of the nave at the west end.

With the help of Mr. Spurdens' plan we make out a cruciform church, of which the nave extended westward from the cross aisle about 115 feet, and 50 feet across; the cross aisle or transept being about 90 feet from north to south. What the original extension eastward was is now impossible to ascertain; indeed, what it ever was we should not now know but for Mr. Spurdens' plan. The "long-drawn aisles and fretted vaults" are gone, and at the time of my visit the corn waved over the site of the high altar. Mr. Spurdens makes the length of the choir 76 feet. It is quite certain that somewhat early in the thirteenth century a considerable enlargement took place; this will be clearly seen by examining the fragment remaining against the east wall of the north transept: not only is it later in style than the wall it abuts upon, but it does not range with the walls of the transept, as seen in the plan. At the same time, too, the handsome chapter-house and the dormitory beyond it were built, probably replacing much smaller buildings.

What was the cause of this enlargement? It was in consequence of the acquisition of a valuable relic, of which acquisition Matthew Paris gives the most particular account:—

"In the same year divine miracles became of frequent occurrence at Bromholm, to the glory and honour of the life-giving Cross on which the Saviour of the world suffered for the redemption of the human race; and since Britain, a place in the middle of the ocean, was thought worthy by the Divine bounty to be blessed with such a treasure, it is proper, nay, most proper, to impress on the mind of descendants by what series of events that Cross was brought from distant regions into Britain.

"Baldwin,\* Count of Flanders, was from a Count made Emperor of Constantinople, at which place he reigned with vigour for many years: it happened at one time that he was dreadfully harassed by the infidel kings, against whom he marched without deliberation, and on this occasion neglected to take with him the Cross of our Lord, and other relics, which always used to be carried before him by the patriarch and bishops whenever he was about to engage in battle against the enemies of the Cross, and this carelessness he found out on that day by dreadful experience: for when he rashly rushed on the enemy with his small army, paying no regard to the multitude of his enemies, who exceeded his own army tenfold, in a very short time he and all his men were surrounded by the enemies of Christ, and were all slain or made prisoners, and the few who escaped out of the whole number knew nothing of what had happened to the emperor, or whither he had gone. There was at that time a certain chaplain of English extraction, who, with his clerks, performed divine service in the emperor's chapel, and he was one of those who had charge of the emperor's relics, rings, and other effects. He therefore, when he heard of the death (for all told him he was killed) of his lord the emperor, left the city of Constantinople privately, with the aforesaid relics, rings,

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\* Baldwin was defeated and taken prisoner at Adrianople, 15 April, 1205, and killed the following year.

and many other things, and came to England: on his arrival there he went to St. Alban's, and sold to a certain monk there a Cross set with silver and gold, besides two fingers of St. Margaret, and some gold rings and jewels, all which things are now held in great veneration at the monastery of St. Alban's. The said chaplain then drew from his mantle a wooden Cross and showed it to some of the monks, and declared on his oath that it was undoubtedly a piece of the Cross on which the Saviour of the world was suspended for the redemption of the human race; but as his assertions *were disbelieved at that place*, he departed, taking with him this priceless treasure, although it was not known. This said chaplain had two young children, about whose support, and for the preservation of whom, he was most anxious; for which purpose he offered the aforesaid Cross to several monasteries, on condition that he and his children should be received amongst the brethren of the monastery; and having endured repulse from the rich in many places, he at length came to a chapel in the county of Norfolk called Bromholm, very poor, and *altogether destitute of buildings*; there he sent for the prior and some of the brethren and showed them the abovementioned Cross, which was constructed with two pieces of wood placed across one another, and almost as wide as the hand of a man; he then humbly implored them to receive him into their order, with this Cross and the other relics which he had with him, as well as his two children. The prior and his brethren then were overjoyed to possess such a treasure, and by the intervention of the Lord, who always protects honourable poverty, put faith in the words of the monk; then they, with due reverence, received the Cross of our Lord and carried it into their oratory, and with all devotion preserved it in the most honourable place there. In this year (1223) then, as has been before stated, divine miracles began to be wrought in that monastery, to the praise and glory of the life-giving Cross; for there the dead were restored to life, the blind

recovered their sight, and the lame their power of walking; the skin of the lepers was made clean, and those possessed of devils were released from them; and any sick person who approached the aforesaid Cross with faith, went away safe and sound. This said Cross is frequently worshipped, not only by the English people, but also by those from distant countries, and those who have heard of the divine miracles connected with it."

Such were the circumstances of this acquisition, and such the cause of the prosperity of Bromholm. The extraordinary absence of anything like reasonable evidence of identity, even with the Cross of Baldwin, will be immediately apparent, and it would be difficult to believe it possible that monks and people could have been so readily deluded, but that in our own times we have winking virgins and the extravagant farce of "our Lady of Salette." It was however confirmed, says Capgrave, by remarkable miracles, no less than thirty-nine persons being raised from the dead. Who could doubt after this?

The original cloister was a very small one; and, notwithstanding the extension of the dormitory southward, the site of the refectory was not changed: that was on the south side of the original cloister, and only the east end of it remains above the level of the soil. It probably partook of the general prosperity, and was greatly extended westward.

Between the church and the chapter-house was a narrow building, of no great height, which seems to have been what was called a slype. A similar passage may be noticed at Norwich, where it led to the prior's apartments, and at many other places. At Thetford, in the same spot, is the narrow space; but there it had an upper floor to which a newel staircase led, and it had no other entrance than from the transept.

The remains of the chapter-house are extremely picturesque; and the remaining arches, north and south, well identify it with the period of the marvellous acquisition of

the Cross. The east end is more modern, probably of John de Tytleshall's time, of which hereafter. The accompanying view shows the interior, from the cloister.



INTERIOR OF CHAPTER-HOUSE AND DORMITORY.

Beyond this east end, Mr. Spurdens marks an enclosure, and thought it the cemetery. This is very likely: I think I detected slight indications in the east wall of the vaulted apartment under the dormitory of a door leading into it.

The dormitory was of considerable size, about 90 feet by 22 feet, vaulted beneath, and lighted by a range of small windows in the east wall. The size of these windows brings forcibly to the mind a passage in the life of Abbot Sampson, of Bury, as related by Jocelin. In the year 1182, being in one of the manor-houses of that abbey, he narrowly escaped death by fire, the only door to the upper story of the house being locked, and the windows too narrow to admit of escape, although the abbot was of rather a spare habit of body—for an abbot.

At the south-west corner of the west end of the church, a wall, extending twenty feet westward, has the lower portion of a two-light window remaining in the upper story: it

stands in the same position as the chapel at Castle Acre, but the entrance to the convent does not appear to have been beneath it, as it is at Castle Acre.

These are all the fragments of important buildings erected immediately after the acquisition of the wonder-working Cross, that drew such throngs of pilgrims, and from which such miraculous effects were alleged to have resulted. In 1233, Henry III. spent some time here with his court, and confirmed many additional grants and privileges, including a fair on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. It is not improbable that Edward I. also paid it a short visit, as I find that he was in the neighbourhood in his thirteenth year. He had been to Binham; thence to Thornage, to a manor of Bishop Middleton's; and on the 13th of March he was at Gimmingham, at the manor of John Earl Warren; but as in the course of the week after he was at Peterborough, his stay at Gimmingham could not have been long. These kingly visits were rather expensive affairs, and were very frequently made in search of ready money. The grant of the fair, although made to the honour of God and from special devotion to the glorious Cross, was also in consideration of 100 marks in hand paid.

After much negociation, the Priory emancipated itself from the control of the Prior of Castle Acre, and by a Bull in his fourth year (1298) Pope Celestine the Fifth confirmed its freedom.

From this time we have for a long period but little information respecting it, except of acquisitions of property in various places, all of which are faithfully recorded in the chartulary of the house, which I saw safe and in good condition in the Public Library at Cambridge.\*

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\* A Ralph Alfe knight is a witness to an early deed; in the next he appears as Ralph Demychyvaler, and some of the family subsequently figure as Halfknights. Some of the speculators on the origin of names may amuse themselves with the investigation of the origin of this.

The Paston family were great patrons of the monastery: one of them, Richard, son of Ralph, gave 12*d.* annual rent for repairing the books of the church; and in the collection of Letters published by Sir John Fenn, two occur dated in 1460, from Prior John de Tytleshall to Sir John Paston; in one he asks for some money, and in the other he asks for timber for eight principal beams for his dortour or dormitory, which was then being repaired, each beam to be eleven yards long. The fireplace in the vaulted room beneath the dormitory was probably made at this time; above it, within the dormitory, a small brick niche seems intended for a lamp, and the vaulting beneath it may at that time have become dilapidated, and have been replaced by a wooden flooring. The view at p. 226 shows the interior of the dormitory and room beneath to the right of the chapter-house. There are fragments of brick vaults at the west end of the church, of the same date. The vaulted room beneath the dormitory being here furnished with a fireplace, confirms the appropriation I have made of the similar room at Castle Acre: this must have been the calefactory, the place for the monks to sit in in the winter months. The curious passage from the south-east corner of the dormitory may also be attributed to Prior Tytleshall. In the view on the opposite page it is shown at the angle of the building nearest the spectator. In most places a passage near that particular spot led to the infirmary buildings, which were kept entirely distinct, having chapel and all other necessary additions for isolating its inmates. If the infirmary stood in the field without this door, all traces of it have vanished. The general view shows the exterior of the dormitory and chapter-house. The enlargement and raising the arch of the gate-house must have occurred about this time: the piers on each side are Transition Norman to Early English, and the capital appears on the side next the street; from that point the stone-work is again carried up perpendicular for some height, and then a depressed Per-





BROMHOLM PRIORY, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

pendicular arch spanned the road. This, probably, like the Binham gate-house, had a prison for delinquents in the liberties of the prior.

In 1466 Sir John Paston died in London in the midst of his fruitless efforts to recover Caister from the Duke of Norfolk, who had seized it in a most scandalous manner. His body was brought to Bromholm for interment, and Blomefield prints (Vol. VI., p. 483) a curious Roll of Accounts of expenses of it. The author of the *History of Caister Castle*\* gives an admirable sketch of the information contained in that Roll. "For three continuous days one man was engaged in no other occupation than that of flaying beasts, and provision was made of 13 barrels of beer, 27 barrels of ale, one barrel of beer of the greatest assyze, and a runlet of red wine of 15 gallons. All these, however, copious as they seem, proved inadequate to the demand; for the account goes on to state that 5 coombs of malt at one time and 10 at another were brewed up expressly for the occasion. Meat, too, was in proportion to the liquor; the country round about must have been swept of geese, chickens, capons, and such small gear, all which, with the 1300 eggs, 20 gallons of milk and 8 of cream, and the 41 pigs, 49 calves, and 10 'nete' slain and devoured, give a fearful picture of the scene of festivity the abbey walls at that time beheld. Amongst such provisions the article of bread bears nearly the same proportion as in Falstaff's bill of fare. The one half-penny worth of the staff of life to the inordinate quantity of sack was acted over again in Bromholm Priory; but then, on the other hand, in matter of consumption, the torches, the many pounds weight of wax to burn over the grave, and the separate candle of enormous stature and girth, form prodigious items." No less than £20 was changed from gold into smaller coin that it might be showered amongst the attendant throng, and 26 marks in

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\* Edited by Mr. Dawson Turner, 1842.

copper had been used for the same object in London before the procession begun to move. A barber was occupied five days in smartening up the monks for the ceremony; and "the reke of the torches at the dirge" was so great that the glazier had to remove two panes to permit the fumes to escape.

This author doubts if Sir John, the son, ever erected a tomb over his father: he applied, in 1471, for the dimensions of the grave, the thickness and compass of the pillar at his head, and from that the space to the altar, and the thickness of that altar and imagery and timber work, and what height the arch was to the ground of the aisle, and how high the ground of the choir was higher than the ground of the aisle. Sir John was, therefore, buried at the east end, either in the north or south aisle of the choir.

The prior had a cope called a "frogge of worstede" presented to him on the occasion, and the tomb was covered with a cloth of gold.

William of Worcester, who paid the convent a visit about this time, probably on this very occasion, records in his note book, now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, that the church was 100 paces long and 25 broad. His paces were about two feet.

At the dissolution the site was granted to Sir Thomas Wodehouse, of Waxham, and of course the buildings shared the usual fate—they became the quarry of the neighbourhood. There is a plate of it, by Buck, made in 1738, when the north transept was used as a dove-house; at that time the chapter-house window was tolerably perfect, and a part of the west end of the church remained as high as the clerestory; but it is rather difficult (as I have found before with Buck's views) to trace the buildings very clearly from them: he seems to have made his sketch on the spot, and finished his drawing at a distance and at a distant period.

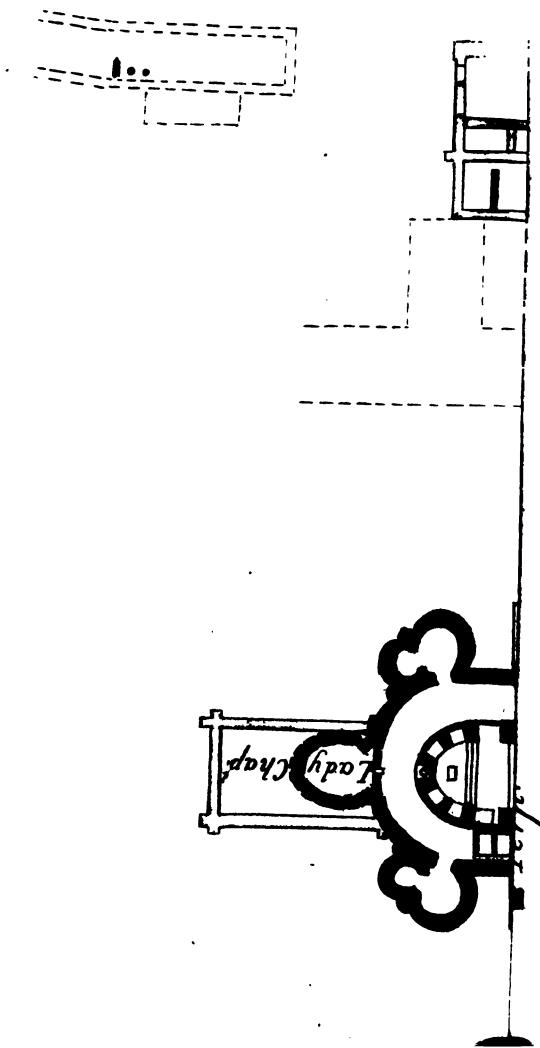
Such is, as far as can now be traced, the history of this

monastery ; and I trust the interest excited by such meetings as those of the Norfolk Archæological Society to the spot, may raise a desire in those who have the charge of them to preserve these remains from further injury. They form one of the historical monuments of this country, which, as education advances, become more precious in the eyes of the people. Every year serves in some measure to dispel the absurd notion which once existed, that societies like this were led to the examination of such buildings as these by a desire to return to old forms and superstitious usages. But, in the eloquent language of the late Bishop Stanley, "we do not dream of retracing our steps to carry back humanity to the darker periods of history: we seek to glean from them all that is good, and to go forward with a swifter and a firmer foot. To those who think the science tends to encourage ancient superstitions, we say, that its design is to cultivate good taste and a love for the arts, so that its researches may not only prove an example to stimulate men of the present age, but may serve as a beacon for the guidance of the future."



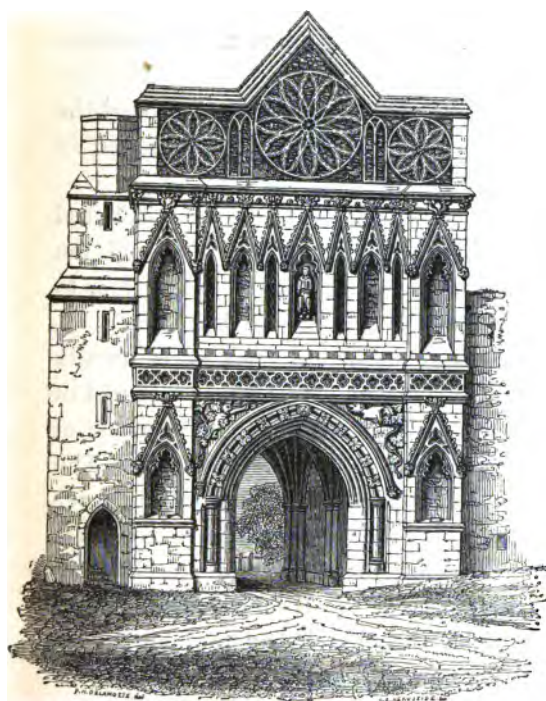
CHAPTER-HOUSE, FROM THE NORTH-EAST, BROMHOLM PRIORY.





## Norwich Cathedral Priory.

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THE history and antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Norwich have been more than once written and described; and my purpose in the following paper is not so much to point out all that is worthy of examination in it as to record new facts which have come to light in the last few years—to discuss moot points in the his-

tory, architecture, and arrangements of the Cathedral and Priory, and to combine the whole by such observations on

the various objects of interest, as may serve to call attention to most of them in going over the buildings and precinct.

It is a source of regret to me not to be able to place before my readers more ample illustrations of the structure; but I must content myself with asking them to refer to the beautiful views in the late Mr. Britton's *History*; to those in the third volume of his *Architectural Antiquities*, the contributions of Mr. J. A. Repton; and to those of the latter gentleman in the fifteenth volume of the *Archæologia*.

The plan at the commencement of this paper has been carefully drawn from actual survey, and much will be found in it which has not been published before, as I shall point out in the course of my remarks.

I shall first have something to say upon the Foundation and the Founder.

On the 9th of April, 1094, Bishop Herbert translated the See from Thetford to Norwich, and was there consecrated by Thomas, Archbishop of York, the same day.

In 1096 Herbert laid the first stone of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity; and in 1101, that and the adjoining Priory were so far completed as to enable him to place therein sixty monks of the order of St. Benedict.

The site chosen for the church and convent is usually stated to have been the "Cowholm," which he purchased of the king and citizens, and by this designation the whole of the present precinct is supposed to have been known. The name implies a pasture surrounded by water,\* which never could have been applicable to the whole of the present precinct; and, beside the Cowholm, the parish and church of St. Mary in the Marsh, the palace of the Bishop and the chapel of St. Mary attached to it, the church and the churchyard

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\* St. Bennet's Abbey was built in the "Cowholm," which was and is surrounded by water. An island by the Haven of Yarmouth is to this day called Cobham (Cob Holm) Island.



of St. Michael, are mentioned by the chroniclers as being included within the walls.

But evidence exists of still more being included within the precinct; and it seems to me to go very nearly to prove that the church of Herbert was built on the site of a yet more ancient one, dedicated also to the Holy Trinity; and if this were so, it was there Herbert was consecrated in 1094.

From the Domesday Survey (1086) we learn that in the Bishop's own court (so that he had then a residence here) were fourteen mansuræ, which King William gave to Arfast,\* for the principal seat of the Bishopric; that Stigand held St. Michael's church in King Edward's time, and William, the Bishop,† held it at the time of the survey. And further, that twelve burgesses *held the Church of the Holy Trinity* in King Edward's time, and then the Bishop had it of the gift of King William.

Blomefield endeavours to identify the church here mentioned with that subsequently called St. John's Maddermarket; but his only reasons are, that the Cathedral was not commenced at the time of the survey, and that in a confirmation by Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham (who died about 1402), the church of the Holy Trinity and St. John was confirmed to the Priory of Newton Longaville, which from that time held the church of St. John Maddermarket.

But this curious fact appears, that the Cathedral Church was commonly called "Christ's Church," from early times until a very recent period; and there certainly was a church, a monastic church too, at Norwich, prior to Herbert's foundation, so called.

Sifed made his will "when he went over the sea" some forty years before Herbert's time, and devised amongst other things, "And ic an into Nordwich to Cristes Kirk iiij. rechenen & to into Sancte Marian."‡

\* Bishop, 1070 to 1081. † William de Bellefagus, Bishop, 1085 to 1091.

‡ Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus ævi Saxonici*, Vol. IV., p. 282, circa 1050.

Ingulphus, the chronicler of Croyland, states, that when he was installed there in 1076 (twenty years before the foundation of Norwich Cathedral) he found 100 "comproffessi" or monks from other monasteries, of whom fourteen were from "Christ's Church, Norwich."

We have here two authentic references to Christ's Church, Norwich, within the fifty years *prior* to Herbert's foundation. Afterward, although in the wills of the upper classes the Cathedral is referred to as the Church of the Holy Trinity, in those of the lower classes it is constantly called Christ's Church.\* In the Corporation Accounts too, it is frequently so styled,† and in the Sessions and Assembly Books also.‡

To come down to later times: among the L'Estrange Anecdotes,§ is one about the Dean preaching in his red robes. A poor silly woman being asked, Who preached? "Truly," says she, "I know not, unless 'twere one of our Aldermen, for I am sure he had a red gown."|| This is related as having taken place at "Christ's Church."

A parallel case may be mentioned: the Church of the

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\* "Item, to Cryst's Church in Norwich, iiij<sup>d</sup>." *Marion Bustymer*, 1515.—*Reg. Cooke, Archd. Norw.*, p. 48. "Item, to y<sup>e</sup> Mother Church, that is, to Cristis Church in Norwich, I bequeth xij<sup>d</sup>." *Thomas Wattoke, Citizen of Norwich*, 1525.—*Ibid.* p. 56.

† "12th Henry VIII., paid to ij Monks of Cryst's Chyrch, for usyng of ther Aubys, ij."—*Accounts of St. George's Company*.

‡ "Oon Robt. Ownfrey did cum to the shope window of on Robt. Sporrell, and ther the sayd Robert Ownfrey sayd unto me, Robt. Sporrell, that Mr. Churchewardens had to mych hast for to have down the awter, for at Cryste Chyrch ther ys non put down in the queer for bycause that my lord dene ys the hede Comysseyoner."—*Sessions Book*, 4th Edward VI.

§ Camden Society, 1839, No. 169.

|| Sir Thomas Browne seems to have imagined that the name of "Christ Church" was of modern invention, for he says in his *Repertorium*, "the Cathedral being *now* commonly so called." And Blomefield endorses and adds to the blunder; for he says, under date of 1546, "The Cathedral, though it is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, began *about this time* to be named Christ's Church, by which name it is commonly called."—Vol. III. p. 216, note 6.

Holy Trinity in York is stated, in the Domesday Survey, to be held by Richard, son of Arfast; and in the enumeration of his lands in the survey, all the lands held by him in right of this church are named as held of Christ's Church. The Priors of Christ's Church, London, and Christ's Church, Hampshire, were both dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

Whether there was, as I believe, a church of the Holy Trinity here prior to Herbert's foundation, or not, no mention is made of it in his charter, nor in any subsequent records. He is ever after spoken of as the first founder, and from the extent and magnificence of his works he may well have claimed to have commenced a new era. The character of this Bishop, as given by the chroniclers, has been recently much discussed, and the discovery of his letters at Brussels has furnished important evidence against their statements.

The late Mr. Spurdens, in an able memoir of the Bishop in the *Norfolk Archæology*, observes:—

“The accounts transmitted to us respecting this Prelate, by the ecclesiastical writers and chroniclers of his age, are so contradictory, so improbable, and some of them written in so disparaging a spirit, that there is much in them on which we cannot satisfactorily rely. Still, it is quite evident that Herbert was one of the remarkable men of the twelfth century; and hence we are led to desire a knowledge of all that can yet be recovered concerning him, his real character, and conduct.

“On investigating these, we are surprised to find, in the first place, that even his name has been misrepresented. The sobriquet, *Losinga*, certainly formed no part of it, and was, probably, not applied to him till after his death. And as to the meaning of this word, one derives it from an Italian, another from an Anglo-Saxon source, but all connect it with the charge of *Simoniacal bargaining*, with which it appears to have no necessary connexion.” \*

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\* *Norfolk Archæology*, Vol. III., p. 140.

“He bought of Rufus the See of Thetford and the Abbey of Winchester, which purchase is usually, though not invariably, mentioned as one transaction: and though Herbert was, apparently, a shrewd hand at a bargain, I agree with Cotton in the belief that he was not more reckless in his simony than the generality of his contemporaries. The clergy were, at this time, divided into two very hostile parties—the seculars and the regulars; and, being a member of the latter, he was so unfortunate as to incur all the malignity of the former. Hence the severe remarks of Malmesbury, and the satirical leonine verses or lampoons, which have floated down to our times. But there may, perhaps, have been other times, when such lines as these might not have been quite inapplicable:

‘Proh dolor! Ecclesiæ nummis venduntur et Ære—  
Quid non speremus, si nummos possideamus—?  
Omnia nummus habet; quid vult facit, addit, et aufert, &c.’

I have no desire to exculpate any party, but I regard it rather as the sin of the age than of the individual; and I have no doubt that many more flagitious transactions of a similar kind passed, unproved, into forgetfulness.” \*

The discovery and publication of his Epistles, † though tending much to do away with the unfavourable impression of his character and conduct, which the statements of the early chroniclers had made, give us very little insight into his personal history. I avail myself of Mr. Spurdens’ able summary of them in the Memoir I have alluded to, and add in the Appendix (A) a series of extracts from the most interesting of them. In the translation the original has been followed as faithfully as possible.

Mr. Spurdens says: “The commencement of his residence in Norwich introduces us to a very busy period in the life of

\* *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. III., p. 149.

† They were found in a MS. belonging to the Burgundian Library at Brussels, by R. Anstruther, who has since published them.—8vo. Bruxelles, 1845.

Herbert; occupied as he must have been in the edification of his Cathedral, with its Monastery, his Palace, and probably several parish churches at the same time. We look, however, in vain for any information respecting these matters in his Epistles. Bartholomew Cotton tells us, in his *Chronicle*, that the translation of the Bishopric took place on the 9th day of April, 1094; by which Blomefield understands that he 'then caused the Chapter, and his Courts, and his family to remove and fix here.' He was then about forty-nine years of age; and as the first of his Epistles was written in his sixtieth year, there are eleven most active intervening years of which we have no other memorial, than that in about the last of them he was made Chancellor. Had we been possessed of any Epistles written in this interval, they would, perhaps, have afforded us some interesting details—and perhaps they would not; for in those which we have, and which were written while the works were in progress, there are no statements, and perhaps not more than a solitary allusion to them. In his fourteenth Epistle, he calls on Ingulfus, Willelmus, and Stanus, *Appares*,\* to be more active in the prosecution of some ecclesiastical structure. 'Languet opus, et in apparandis materiis nullus vester apparet fervor. Ecce regis et mei ministri fervent in operibus suis; lapides colligunt, collectos afferunt, campos et plateas, domos et curias implent; et vos torpetis, et concertis digitis ingelati negligentiae bruma, vili otio deficitis prævaricatores.' Now, this delineates a lively picture of the hive of workmen at the Cathedral; but it is hardly such a delineation as would have come from the pen of a man of scientific attainments, and

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\* "Appares." So far as this word is explained by Du Cange and others, it means, persons temporarily appointed to discharge the duties of another—*vicarii*. Thus, in the frequent absences of our monarchs on the continent, the noblemen or others invested with the charge of government, *absente rege*, were called, "*Appares d'ni regis*." I believe these men were overseers of the works.—Note by Rev. W. F. S.

skilled in architectural pursuits. We gain incidentally, however, the knowledge that the King was associated with the Bishop in the undertaking, for the workmen are spoken of as 'regis et mei ministri.'

"From the perusal of the Epistles, one arises, I think, much amused, much interested, but much disappointed. Had they come down to us merely as the productions of a Baldwin or an Ingulphus,—of an amiable, an accomplished, and pious recluse, who had passed through all the grades of monastic life with the reverence, the esteem, and love of the brotherhood,—we should have expected, probably, just what we find in them. But, assuredly, we discover here no feature of the reckless Simoniac, of the wily courtier, of the skilful diplomatist, of the acute lawyer, or (with one solitary exception) of the haughty churchman. The good monk, pious, and kind hearted and benevolent, meets you every where in his cowl; but you rarely catch a glance at the mitre of the Bishop.

"Abundant are the proofs that Herbert was a man of very high literary attainments, measured by the standard of the cloister. There is a pleasing peculiarity in his style, which, without being classical, is by no means offensive; nor is it destitute of a certain elegance and refinement. He appears, moreover, to have been an acute theologian and dialectician; a good scholar for the age in which he lived, and a pleasing and elegant writer. In the character of his Epistles there is a singular charm, which is, somehow, quite unexpected, and wins our prejudices in favour of that of their author. It altogether forces itself upon our conviction; proceeding from a pious simplicity of mind, an amiable cheerfulness of temper, and a winning *bonhomie*, which cause him now and then, and especially in addressing the young, to forget the gravity of his station and his severe bodily infirmities, and to condescend even to become merry and facetious. To certain lads of his monastery, choristers perhaps, or collets, in particular

to two, named Otto and Willelmus, in whose education he appears to take an interest almost suspiciously *paternal*, he unbends in a manner the most unreserved; and it is very amusing to see how these boys, one of whom was but in his fifteenth year, are played with, while they are at the same time admonished, encouraged, and even directed in their studies. To all these good qualities, and to others no less important, decided testimony is borne by Weever, in his *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, p. 788, where, very much quoting from Pitsæus, *de Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus ælat. duodec.*, he tells us that Herbert was, 'a man earnestly addicted to the studies of all vertues and good learning, milde, affable, comely of personage, gracefull of countenance, blamelesse in his carriage, and pure, innocent, and sincere in the course of his life. The Monkes of Norwich made great meanes and suite to have him canonized as a Saint; but such impediments were alwaies in the way, that it could not be obtained.'

"Many passages in his Epistles show him to have laboured under infirm health during, at least, his latter years. The activity of his mind seems to have augmented the infirmity of his body: 'the sword fretted the scabbard.' He appears notwithstanding, to have been always ready to obey his Sovereign's call, or that of the Church; and there are, I think, intimations, that with more vigour of constitution, he would have been the successor of Anselm at Canterbury. This mental activity led him, in 1116, to embark with Radulfus de Turbine, the new Archbishop, in an embassy to Rome, with a view of arranging the long-disputed points respecting investitures and the Legatine authority in England; but the exertion seems to have been fatal to him. On his return, he fell sick at Placentia, smitten, it would seem, from the accounts of his condition there, with paralysis; and although he became, after some time, sufficiently convalescent to admit of his return by easy stages to Norwich, and even, after that return, to complete many important matters of busi-

ness, yet nature yielded on the 22nd of July, either of 1119 or 1120—for it is uncertain which—and he was buried before the high altar in his Cathedral Church.”\*

On another point in the history of the Bishop, Mr. Spurdens, in the memoir before alluded to, has done good service by clearing away some of the doubts and difficulties as to the place of Herbert's birth. He is said, in the short memoir prefixed to his Epistles, apparently derived from a note of Bishop Godwin, to have been born in Normandy, “at a small village called Exmes, generally but erroneously named Hiemes, in pago Oxunensi.”

“Anthony à Wood, on the authority I suppose of Giraldus, makes him a Norman, and is followed by the modern inscription on his tomb in the Cathedral, written by Dean Prideaux; the ancient epitaph, destroyed by the Puritans in the reign of Charles the First, but preserved in Weever, being silent on the subject. Various other writers, among whom is Blomefield, adopt this account. Bishop Godwin is in favour of Oxford; and Cotton even calls him ‘an Oxford man.’ But Bale says of him—‘in pago Oxunensi in Sudvolgiâ natus;’—and as Bale was not only a good antiquary, but himself a Suffolk man, he is probably right, although he appears not to have found in Suffolk a suitable locality. This, however, Pitts erroneously supposed he had discovered at Orford.

“The estates of which I find the Herberts to have been possessed, consist of a carucate of land at Wykes, near Ipswich, afterwards called Wykes Episcopi; and another carucate in the parish of Syleham, which now constitutes the Manor called Monks’ Hall, together with the water-mill there.

“‘William Bigot, Sewer to King Hen. I., gave to the Prior of Thetford all that land in Syleham, (now called Monks’ Hall) and the water-mill there: all which Her-

\* *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. III., p. 153.



bert, Bishop of Norwich, conveyed to his father in exchange for other lands : he being to hold it in as ample a manner as ever Herbert the Chaplain did.'

" . . . . . pro qua terra et manerio de Taverham, quod tunc fuit Comitis Rogeri Bigoti, venerabilis Episcopus Herbertus dedit in excambiam unam carucatam terræ in Silham, et alteram carucatam terræ in Wykes, quas Comes Rogerus dedit monachis suis de Thetforde.'—*Extract from the History of the Foundation of the Priory of Norwich, at the end of the Register of Bingham Priory. Dugdale's Monast., i. 408.*

" "Concedo, &c. . . . . totam terram similiter de Sileham cum omnibus que ad eandem terram pertinent, sicut Herbertus Capellanus melius et liberius et honorificentius eam unquam tenuit, de dono Herberti Norwicensis Episcopi, qui eam patri meo scambiavit, sicut carta ejusdem Episcopi testatur, &c.'—*Extract from the Charter of William Bigot to the Priory of Thetford, founded by Roger Bigot, A° 1103. Dugdale's Monast., i. 665.*

"It appears then, unquestionably, that the Herberts, father and son in succession, held these lands; and the circumstance affords an additional presumptive evidence of great weight, that they were both Englishmen.

"In fact, I persuade myself that the evidence is available for more than this; for it not only enables us to infer the nationality of the Bishop, but to conjecture, with great probability—and probability is all we can now fairly expect in such an inquiry—the *place* of his birth.

"The village of Syleham, where I have shown that the Bishop's father was the possessor of a manor and lands, is in the hundred of Hoxne (usually pronounced and formerly written Hoxon and Oxon), in the county of Suffolk, and contained a manor, or hamlet, with a separate chapel, called

Esham. I need not suggest that such of the ancient writers as were ambitious of a classical style, carefully eschewed such words as "Hundredum," applied to the civil district which we call "a Hundred," and employed, instead, the Latin word *pagus*, not very dissimilar in its meaning. Now, here we have at once the rudiments of Giraldus's account, misunderstood, it may be, and corrupted to adapt it to a preconceived theory. This will be more apparent if we place the two statements in juxtaposition; thus,

"— natus apud Exmes in pago Oxinensi in Normannia.  
*Giraldus, &c.*

"— natus apud Esham in pago Oxonensi in Sudvolgia.  
*Bale, Pitts, &c.*

"I would fain persuade myself, then, that I have shown—as far as such a matter is capable of being shown—that Bishop Herbert was not a Norman by birth, but an Englishman, born at his father's manor at Syleham, in the hundred of Hoxne, in the county of Suffolk." \*

Mr. Spurdens, with much justice, treats the name, "de Losinga," as a nickname, fastened on the bishop by his detractors after his death.†

But there is one point in which Mr. Spurdens has been, I think, led into error, and on which his view should certainly not be hastily adopted. He, in consequence apparently of Weever's statement that, "upon the death of Arfastus, one William Herbert, *surnamed Galfagus*, for the sum of £1900., obtained of King William Rufus this bishopric and the abbey of Winchester for his father," and whilst observing that Weever gives no authority for it, entirely ignores William Belfagus, the successor of Arfast, and makes Herbert the

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\* *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. III., p. 145.

† See William of Malmesbury's *Chronicle*, p. 352, of Dr. Giles's Translation, Bohn's "Antiquarian Library."

"William Bishop" of the Domesday Survey. This is at variance with other and more reliable accounts; and even if it were not so, and it could be proved that Herbert was a "William," it does not at all follow that he was *the* William nominated to the See by the king in 1085.\* One of the Belfagus family, Ralph de Bellofago, is named in Domesday as possessing lands in Norfolk and Suffolk; and the family continued for many ages at Harling in this county. The Binham Chartulary calls the bishop "Bewfewe."

Mr. Spurdens was, however, without doubt, right in treating the statement that the See was moved to Thetford to aid in effecting the transfer to Bury as of no value. The reason may perhaps now never be known, but assuredly the removal from Elmham to Thetford can in no way have assisted the designs on Bury. He points to the direction of the Council of London, in 1075, to remove episcopal sees from villages to chief towns, and to the intention of the Conqueror, as proved by the Domesday Book, to remove that of the East Angles to Norwich. "And in the proper court of the bishop are 14 mansuræ which king William gave to Arfast for the principal seat of the bishopric." So that the removal to Thetford was never intended to be any other than a temporary one, whatever might have been its cause.

However, it was not until after William's death, and on Herbert's election to the See, that their designs were carried out, and on the 24th September, 1101, the Cathedral Church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and Herbert signed the foundation deed. This was five years from the commencement of the work, and yet, although Herbert lived eighteen years after, Blomefield asserts that the nave was built by Eborard, his successor, and the whole of the buildings not completed until nearly the end of the century.

But in whatever direction we look we find traces of Early

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\* Sir Thomas Browne, speaking of his tomb in the Cathedral, calls him Bishop William Herbert.—*Rep.*, Works, Vol. II., p. 12.

Norman, the work of Bishop Herbert's time. Blomefield assigns the choir and transepts to him, and the nave to Bishop Eborard. The only shadow of a foundation for this lies in the occurrence of the zigzag or chevron moulding round the arches of the triforium. This has been very positively asserted to be a mark of Late Norman, but the time of its introduction is not at all clearly ascertained, and as it appears here it is of the simplest kind, and has the billet moulding, a very early form, in the arches above and below it.

Although, too, the cloister square, externally, presents no trace of Norman work, the east side of the outer west wall has a series of fine, bold, interlaced, Early Norman arches, resting on plain massive corbels, extending along its whole face to the south-west corner: the chambers built over the west walk of the cloister in the fourteenth century, now hide this handsome feature. The north side of the outer south wall has an arcade of Early Norman arches, pierced at intervals with windows lighting the original refectory, but these are all hidden by the buildings over the south cloister walk. Beyond the Deanery, in the houses said to be constructed out of the granaries, are Early Norman columns, about which I shall have more to say hereafter. In every direction, then, we see remains of Herbert's time.

In order fully to understand the arrangements of the Priory and the various events which led to changes in them, it is desirable now to ascertain the ancient extent of the precinct.

The original extent of the Priory liberty is thus set forth in ancient Pleas, copies of which are among the City Archives: "William Rufus confirmed to Herbert the land of St. Michael and the land of Taverham which pertained to the same land; which same land of St. Michael began at the head of a certain lane called Bewgate,\* lying between the Cemetery of St.

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\* This was near where the Crown Bank now stands.

Cuthbert and the house of the Friars Minors; which same lane was afterwards included in the possessions of the same Friars; and the same lane abutted on the common way leading from Cunesford to Fybrigge, and from that head by the middle of the King's way towards the north, tending to a wooden cross standing opposite the Carnary,\* which is called *Tomland*. Which land of St. Michael and the Manor of Taverham Roger Bigot gave in exchange to Bishop Herbert for one carucate of land in Syleham and another in Wykes, which the same Roger gave to his monks of Thetford. And of the palace of the earl there remained one house, before the gates of the monastery, called the Stonehouse. And the boundary of the Prior's liberties ran from the same cross by the walls of the monastery to the bridge of St. Martin,† and included that vacant place of land lying before the gates of the palace of the bishop towards the north; and from the bridge of St. Martin towards the east, by the course of the river round to Lovelle's staithe towards the south; and again by a lane leading to the common way of Nether Cunesford, and by that way to the messuage which was some time of John de Marisco and Hawyse his wife, and after that of Peter de Strumpeshawe, which was subsequently included within the close of the Friars Minors; and from that messuage by the lane called Bewgate, between St. Cuthbert's and the Friars Minors, to Cunesford."

The cross of wood is repeatedly stated in these Pleas to have been placed on the site of the ancient chapel of St. Michael. It is also stated that the remains of the earl's palace at the south end of Tombland were called Raton Row.

The present precinct does not include all the land mentioned in the above Pleas. The largest severance was made on the north side, in 1249, by Bishop Suffield, when he gave for the foundation of the hospital of St. Giles all the land on

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\* Nearly opposite the Erpingham Gate.

† Now called White Friars' Bridge.

the north side of Holm, now Bishopgate Street. Portions of land to the west of the hospital land appear to have been alienated at a still earlier period, for the west head of the lands granted by Bishop Suffield abutted on the land then of the Lady Isabella de Cressy; and other owners are mentioned. In the midst of this western part of the original possessions of the See were the Grammar School of the city and "*Romehalle*;" and the almonry was here, according to Blomefield, if I rightly interpret his words; but if so, he is wrong, for it really was at the south end of the Upper Close. It is not clear whether "*Romehalle*" was actually the Grammar School or a separate house so called; there are several instances, however, of a large piece of land in the neighbourhood of a monastery being called "*Romeland*," and houses upon them called "*Romeland Houses*."\* The popular idea respecting

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\* In Maitland's *History of London* (edition 1739, p. 455) he mentions, among the remarkable things in Billingsgate Ward, *Roomland*, or place, where the masters of ships, coalmongers and heavers, daily meet to transact their affairs in. It was probably part of the possessions of the Abbey of Waltham. There is a singular coincidence as regards this *Romeland* at Billingsgate, adjacent to the town residence of the Abbot of Waltham at St. Mary at Hill, and another *Romeland* at Waltham Abbey,—“a spacious place at the entrance of the Abbey built about with houses called *Romeland* (as Peter Pence were called *Rome Scot*) at this day.”

Fuller says, in a Churchwardens' Account, 34 Henry VIII., sixpence is “paid to the ringers at the coming of the King's Grace.” “Yet Waltham bells told no tales every time King Henry came hither, having a small house in *Romeland*, to which he is said oft privately to retire for his pleasure.”—*Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XXXIX., N. S., p. 509.

In Foxe's account of the martyrdom at St. Alban's, of George Tankerfield, A.D. 1555, is the following passage. “The Sheriffs brought George Tankerfield to the place where he should suffer, which was called *Romeland*, being a green place near the west end of the Abbey Church.” (*Acts and Monuments*, III., 350: edit. 1688). This piece of ground, which still retains its name, forms an irregular triangle, about three acres in extent, immediately adjacent to the still remaining gateway of the monastery. It is bounded on the east and north by houses, some of very ancient date; and a mansion called *Romeland House*, which appears to have been pulled down about a century since, formerly stood at its western extremity. It retained its character of a green

them is that the rents of property in these districts "peculiarly belonged to the Church of Rome." They might, too, have been for sanctuary, and the Romehalle, or Romeland House, for the accommodation of those availing themselves of the privileges of its jurisdiction. But to whatever purpose the district here may have been originally appropriated, it was in lay hands long before the dissolution, for the Erpinghams, and after them the Calthorpes, had the house and adjacent lands. Dame Jane Calthorpe was the owner, in the time of Elizabeth, of the messuage called "Romehall."\*

place till about 1840, when the principal part of it was consecrated as an additional burial ground for the parish of St. Alban. It is remarkable that this Romeland at St. Alban's bears the same relative position to the abbey there as the Romeland mentioned has to the abbey of Waltham.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XXXIX., p. 617.

\* The following note of a Lease in the Corporation Archives will point out the position of Romehall very exactly:—

21st Henry VIII., 14th August. This Indenture, made between . . . . . Hekker, Clerk, Master of the Hospital of St. Giles, [John Hekker was Master from 1526 to 1532.—Blomefield, Vol. IV., p. 399] and the brethren of the same place of the one part, and Will<sup>m</sup>. Drury, Gentleman, Henry Calthrop, . . . John Drewrye, Gentleman, John Blomvyle, Gentleman, and John Sotherton, Citizen and Mercer, enfeofed and seized . . . to them, their . . . and assigns of and in one Messuage, which was some time of Robert Lovage, afterwards of Thomas Shorde, and some time of William Wotton, Esq., called Romehalle, . . . in the parish of St. Martin at the Palace Gates, on the other part: Witnesseth that the aforesaid Master, &c., leased to the said William Drury a certain parcel of certain Renters of the same Master and Brethren in the parish aforesaid, namely, that parcel lying next adjoining the messuage aforesaid towards the west, and extends itself from the said parcel in length from a certain lane opposite the messuage some time of Sir Thomas Erpingham, Knt., now of Sir Philip Calthorpe, Knt., which leads to the close called Skooleyard towards the North, and the King's way leading under the wall of the Palace, towards the Gates of the City called Busshops gates, towards the South; and the s<sup>d</sup> parcel contains in the North end of the same, from a certain corner of a stone wall of the said messuage next the aforesaid lane on the West and North parts, called a Coyne, to another boundary opposite, next to the aforesaid lane towards the North and East, 9½ ells; and contains next the King's way aforesaid, from a certain stone boundary placed high in the stone wall for dividing the residue of the same Renters and parcels aforesaid towards the East, to a certain corner of the

Another part of the precinct, not included within the monastery walls, was the Tomeland, the site of St. Michael's chapel, and the Earl's palace; and this was the cause of almost interminable disputes between the priors and the citizens, the latter claiming jurisdiction from time to time over it up to the monastery walls. Out of some of these disputes arose the second great fire, which did immense damage to the fabric and caused many of the alterations and additions which now serve to perplex those who undertake to examine these remains.

The "Liber de Antiquis Legibus" of the Corporation of London contains the following entry relating to it: \*

Anno } "This year, in the month of August, there hap-  
1272. ) pened at Norwich a certain most grievous misfortune, and among Christians unheard of for an age; that the Cathedral Church in honour of the Holy Trinity there anciently founded was completely destroyed by fire, wilfully placed, with all the houses of the monks constructed within the cloisters of the same church. And this was occasioned by the pride of him who was then Prior of the same monastery, as will be shown hereafter. For with the assent and consent of that Prior, messengers and servants of the monks oftentimes entered the city, abusing and wounding men and women within and without their houses, and doing much evil. Also, that Prior endeavoured to draw away men of the commons from the liberty of the city that they might be under

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gable of the said message, called a Coyne, towards the West,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  ells; and lies in length from the said corner called a Coyne, to the North and West, in a line next the message aforesaid to the said corner, called the Coyne, South. To hold for 50 years, paying annually 4 shillings.

\* This notice of the commotion was brought before the members of the Archæological Institute at the Norwich Meeting by the late Mr. Hudson Turner: the contrast between this account and that of Cotton is amusing enough. The London account was no doubt obtained from communication with the Corporation of Norwich, whilst Cotton's is of course the monkish history of it.



his lordship, separated from the commons of the city. Also, whereas the monks had every year a fair according to ancient custom, it happened this year about the Feast of the Holy Trinity, citizens coming with their merchandize thither, and when the greater part of them were returned to their own homes at the end of the fair, the servants of the monks wickedly assaulted those who remained, abusing, wounding, and killing certain of them, and for this they never cared to make any redress, but, always persevering in their malice and wickedness, perpetrated all sorts of evils against the citizens. But the citizens, not able to bear any longer so many evils and so great violence, gathered together and prepared to arm themselves that they might repel force by force; when this most detestable Prior understood this, he caused a great number of evil-disposed persons to come from Yarmouth, who, in the time of trouble in the kingdom, had been robbers, ravishers, and malefactors; all these came by water to that monastery, ascending the belfry where the bells hung, furnishing it with arms like a camp, and thence they fired with bows and catapults, so that no one was able to pass near the monastery without being wounded. The citizens, seeing their violence, supposed that those persons were manifestly evil doers against the peace of our lord the King, who had made a hostile camp in their city. They, therefore, gathered together, ordering men to apprehend and lead them to the King's Justice, furnished themselves with arms when these persons approached the closed gate of the court, not being able to enter by reason of the array of men at arms who defended it, raised a fire and fiercely burned the gate. As the fire waxed stronger, the belfry was burned, and all the houses of the monks, and also, as some say, the Cathedral Church; so that all which could be burned was reduced to ashes, except a certain chapel, which remained uninjured. The monks, however, and all who were able, taking to flight, got away, but certain men on either side were killed.

“And it ought to be known that, although it is lawful in all ways to molest and attack the king’s enemies and those who are against his peace, even if it be necessary by the kindling of fire, yet, however, it is not lawful for Christians to kindle fire to the destruction of churches or other holy places.

“But our lord the King, when he heard these most horrid rumours, was greatly grieved; and in fury and vehement wrath proceeded to that city, and when he had arrived, he caused as many of the citizens as were suspected to be apprehended and incarcerated in the castle. And he caused men remaining without the aforesaid city to be summoned, desiring on their oaths to know the truth of this affair; and when they presented themselves before the King’s Justices appointed for this purpose, the Bishop of the place, Roger by name, came forward, not falling short of the wickedness and cruelty of his Prior, neither considering his religious vows nor his own dignity, but lacking all religion and pity, desiring as far as he could to condemn the citizens to death, he before the whole people excommunicated all who for favor, pay, religion, or pity, should spare any of the citizens from undergoing trial; so that after his opinion had been declared, our lord the King was willing to extend favor to none, although he was entreated by many religious men within and without the city. And no allowance was then made to the citizens on the ground that the Prior and his accomplices were the origin and cause of all that misfortune, nor by reason of the losses or evils which the citizens had suffered by means of the aforesaid Prior and his men; but the only enquiry made was, Who took part in this conflict? And all who were convicted of this were by the jurors condemned to death; and Laurence de Broke, a justice at Newgate for gaol delivery, who was there present acting as Judge, condemned some young men belonging to the city, in number about thirty, to a most cruel death, namely, to be drawn,

hung, and their bodies burnt after death. A certain priest, also, and two clerks were clearly convicted of robbing in that church, and they were sent to the Bishop to be judged according to the custom of Holy Church.

“Afterwards, by a most truthful inquest of forty knights who remained near the city, it appeared that the church was burned by that accursed fellow, and not by the fire of the citizens; for he had secretly caused smiths to go up into the tower of the church, who made there weapons and darts to be cast by them with catapults into the city; and when these smiths saw the belfry on fire, as has been stated, they fled and did not extinguish their own fire; and as this fire increased, the tower caught fire and burned the church.

“It appeared also, that that most wicked Prior proposed to burn the whole city; for which purpose, by his accomplices, he caused fire to be raised in three parts of the city. Certain of the citizens, however, wishing to avenge that evil, increased it very grievously; for they burned with the same fire the gate of the aforesaid priory, of which mention has been made.

“That wicked Prior was also convicted of homicide, of robbery, and of innumerable other cruelties and iniquities perpetrated by him personally and by his iniquitous accomplices. And, therefore, our lord the King caused him to be apprehended, and gave him into the hands of his Bishop, that he might keep him safe in his prison and produce him before the King on his mandate. Afterwards this Prior before his Bishop, who was far too favorable to him, purged himself after the ecclesiastical manner, and so that most wicked man (with shame be it said!) remained unpunished for the crime laid to his charge. Subsequently, within the half year next following, divine vengeance overtaking him, as I believe, he miserably died.” \*

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\* *Liber de Antiquis Legibus.* Cronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum, fol. 130 to 132.

This very circumstantial account varies considerably from that of Cotton as to the causes which led to the fire; but the account of the fire itself and the damage done by it is very nearly the same. Cotton says:

"The same year, in the feast of St. Lawrence, the citizens encircled and besieged the monastery, and when by assault they were unable to obtain ingress, they fired the great gates of the monastery, beyond which was a certain parochial church, and them, with the aforesaid church, and with all the ornaments, books, and images, and everything contained therein, they burned. They also fired at the same time the great house of the almonry, and the gates of the church, and the great belfry, which, together with the bells, were immediately destroyed. Certain of them, also, without the tower of St. George, with catapults, threw fire into the great belfry which was above the choir, and by this fire they burned the whole church, except the chapel of the Blessed Mary, which was miraculously preserved. The dormitory, refectory, strangers' hall, infirmary, with the chapel and almost all the edifices of the court, were consumed by fire."\*

On this account by Cotton, a question arises which I am astonished never to have seen referred to before. He states that the citizens fired the great house of the almonry, the gates of the monastery, and the *GREAT Belfry*, all which were destroyed; and that then certain fire thrown from St. George's church into the *great belfry above the choir* led to the destruction of the church, &c.. Here are certainly *two belfries* alluded to: one apparently standing apart, first destroyed; another in the church over the choir.

Cotton, being well acquainted with the locality, speaks of the different buildings as they would present themselves to the eye. 1st, the Great House of the Almonry: this was at

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\* Cotton in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. I., p. 407.

the south-west corner of the Upper Close;\* 2nd, the Great Gates; and, 3rd, the Great Belfry.

Where could the great belfry have stood? The space now called the Upper Close may possibly have contained it, but I have not been able to learn of any foundations of such a massive character having been there met with. It can scarcely have been a tower gateway, like that at Bury Abbey, for the "Great Gates" are separately referred to. Some stout walls adjoining the Erpingham Gate, to the south of it, may at some future period be examined and throw light on the point.

At the same time the *Dormitory, Refectory, Strangers' Hall, Infirmary, with the Chapel, &c.*, were destroyed.

The original dormitory stood in the space between the east cloister wall and the Deanery; traces of the vaulting of the crypt beneath it may still be seen on the walls of the latter. It was never, in all probability, rebuilt, for the cloisters were immediately commenced, and the room over the east walk may have been very speedily appropriated to that purpose.

The refectory, having been burnt in the same fire, can hardly have been rebuilt on the old site, for the rooms over the south walk of the cloister, built by Bishop Salmon between 1299 and 1312, as I before said, completely block up all the windows on the north side of the original refectory. In some of these rooms the Norman arcade, which had windows lighting the refectory, has been left almost uninjured.

Where was the refectory then constructed? There is a building a little south of the refectory, running east and west, of which extensive remains may be found in the house occupied by Commander St. Quintin, and three pillars are in the

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\* Philip Brown says, in 1785, "The little green at the south end of the Upper Close was formerly called the Almonry Green, from the ancient almonry or workhouse which stood adjoining to the monastery gate."

open space in front of his house in the Lower Close. This building was conjectured by Professor Willis to be the infirmary: his Monogram on the Cathedral has not yet been published, and the reports taken of his lecture at the time he delivered it are too meagre to permit me here to repeat the arguments he then advanced for his opinion. When a part of the building was pulled down in 1805, Dr. Sayers, Mr. J. A. Repton, and others, conjectured this large building to have been appropriated to two purposes, that of a refectory below and a dormitory above.

The pillars and arches remaining are Late Norman, and when first uncovered in 1806 had traces of painting and gilding upon them, some of the patterns of which may be seen in the 15th volume of the *Archæologia* (pp. 337, 8). In the same volume, Mr. Repton has given a section of the building in its original state, which exhibits the architecture of the period just subsequent to the fire in 1171.

An etching exists, made by the Rev. Andrew Gooch at the time of its destruction, of which the engraving opposite is an accurate copy. The view is taken from the railings of the Lower Close, to the south-east of the building. But I shall have again occasion to refer to this structure.

In the account of the cloisters by William of Worcester,\* the door at the south-east corner of the cloister is called the Infirmary Door. It led into a vaulted passage, now called the Dark Entry, and the door which led from it towards the infirmary was on the east side of this passage, and the vaulting (plain waggon-head) is placed north and south, the south end closed by a massive wall. This east door led into a passage, part of which has been recently destroyed, but the other part ran into, if not through, the present Deanery, towards the range of buildings now usually called the Granaries of the Monastery.

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\* *Itinerary*, in Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The existence of some Norman pillars in this building, not likely to be found in a granary, I have before pointed out; and there was a church or chapel of St. Helen, which may have been the infirmary chapel, somewhere to the east



BUILDING DESTROYED IN 1806, PART OF NORWICH PRIORY.

of these buildings. Blomefield, on what authority does not appear, places it at the north-east extremity of the precinct, nearly opposite the tower of the hospital church. As this church or chapel was destroyed so early as 1249, and the parish annexed, according to his statement, to the hospital church, it is not surprising that all trace of it is gone. In the original Statutes of the hospital, the west head of the hospital lands is described as abutting "upon the way opposite the church of St. Helen, under the wall of the Court of the

Prior and Convent of Norwich." \* This is certainly some foundation for Blomefield's location of it: my conjecture would place it several hundred feet to the south of the spot marked on his plan; but as no buildings intervened between it and the priory wall, it might, even if so placed, have still been sufficiently near to meet fully the quoted description of its position. There is nothing remaining to identify this range of buildings with the infirmary; but it occupies the position in which that building was usually placed. The present Deanery may have afforded a still better site for the infirmary: the range of foundations to the north-east of it, in the Deanery garden, are quite extensive enough to have contained the apartments of the prior.

The evidence in favour of the building to the south of the original refectory being the infirmary, appears solely to rest on its resemblance to a church, and the style of it being of the time of John of Oxford, who certainly rebuilt the infirmary after the fire of 1171. Against its being so, is the fact of its proximity to the refectory and domestic offices of the monastery; its western entrance standing so far away from the door, stated by Worcester to be that leading to the infirmary; its lacking that isolation so universally adopted in monastic arrangements for that department; and the beauty of its architecture, and the decoration it had certainly received in painting and gilding, being inconsistent with the purposes to which it is supposed it was applied.

We know too that the infirmary was burnt in the fire of 1272, and it must therefore have been rebuilt or largely repaired immediately after that time. No traces of any such repairs were to be seen in this building; all the alterations and additions to it were of Perpendicular date.

Before examining further in detail the several portions of the Cathedral and Priory, it may first be desirable to consider

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\* Blomefield, Vol. IV., p. 382, note 5.



the question of the period at which the original buildings were constructed. Blomefield (on what evidence he does not state) says positively, that "the choir, tower, and two transepts, with the north and south aisles of the choir beyond the transepts," were Bishop Herbert's work; that Bishop Eborard \* "built the whole nave or body of the church and its aisles, which was so great a work that some have not scrupled to say he built the whole church;" and that "thus the church stood (though not perfectly fitted up and finished) till 1171, when it received much damage by fire, all which John of Oxford, the fourth bishop, fully repaired, and completely fitted up the church about 1197."

Cotton was, I presume, his authority; but it must be remembered that he wrote long after the period referred to. Professor Willis considered the architectural features of the building confirmed the above account, and referred particularly to the variations on the bases of the columns, and the zigzag ornament around the arches, in what was stated to be the later part of it. The professor (if he be correctly reported) added, that it was a mistake to suppose this zigzag

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\* Bishop from 1121 to 1145, when he retired from Norwich, and was succeeded by William Turbus in 1146. The place of his death and interment was unknown until recently. Mr. J. H. Druery communicated to the fifth volume of the *Norfolk Archaeology* some particulars relative to him, furnished by the Abbé Dupont. It is now ascertained that he built the Abbey of Fontenay near Mont Bard, Côte d'Or, the foundations of which were laid in 1137, and the church consecrated in 1147. He fixed his retreat upon a mountain in the neighbourhood of the newly-erected abbey, on the south side of which he caused a modest palace to be built, of which numerous ruins remain in a wood, with a walled-in park, and roads fenced by thick thorns. He was buried under the great altar of the abbey church, and a monument erected to his memory. The original stone with its inscription disappeared at a very early period, and is believed soon after to have been replaced by another stone (engraved in *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. V., p. 41) with the following inscription:

HIC JACET DOMINVS • EBRARDVS • NORWICENSIS •  
EPISCOPVS • QVI • EDIFICAVIT • TEMPLVM • ISTVD.

work a leading characteristic of Norman architecture, when in truth, *as he could show*, it was not introduced into Norman work until a very late period.

It is very much to be regretted that the professor has so long deferred his Monograph on this building, as much evidence he has had the opportunity of collecting is unavailable to others, and much discussion might possibly have been prevented by the satisfactory character of his authorities.

Bishop Herbert began his church and monastery in 1096, and had in *five years* "so far perfected them, that in 1101 he placed sixty monks there, and in September sealed the foundation deed." At this time the portion of the Cathedral Church stated to be his work must have been built. He lived eighteen years after, and yet we are to suppose the works advanced no further. Is this likely? We know that repairs and alterations were continually going on in these ecclesiastical buildings, and Eborard may have altered many of the bases and arch mouldings; but as he left the See in 1145, the zigzag mouldings of the nave cannot be of his time, if Professor Willis be right in calling the zigzag a late Norman feature. One fact he, as well as others, omitted to allude to: there is not a single portion of the entire Norman fabric, not even of these chevron ornaments, where any under-cutting exists,—all is as rude and plain as can be. The chevron or zigzag moulding, of very much the same character as at Norwich, occurs, although but in one or two places, in the church at Binham, built at the commencement of the twelfth century.

Before the Norman style went out, the chevron ornament had assumed a far more ornamental character, and was combined with other ornaments, and under-cut and elaborated in a hundred different ways. This must have been the work of a considerable time, and, unless Professor Willis produces some very strong authority to the contrary, I should be inclined, in defiance of his opinion, to assign the nave, and

indeed all the existing Norman work, to Bishop Herbert's time. It is quite certain that the chisel was freely used some time before the extinction of Norman architecture: numerous buildings throughout the country afford evidence of this; and Mr. Parker, at the Cambridge meeting of the Institute, kindly furnished us with an approximation to a date. Ger-vase (de combustione et reparatione Dorobornensis Ecclesiæ, —*Decem Scriptores*, p. 1302) compares the church of Canterbury after the fire in September (completed 1180) with what it was before, showing how much more beautiful it had been made. "Ibi arcus et cætera omnia plana utpote sculpta secure et non scisello, hic in omnibus fere sculptura idonea."

Exactly the same interlaced arches which occur on the exterior of the north transept, and in the interior of the south transept, are to be found along the whole length of the west side of the cloister.

The clerestory windows are of the same pattern and execution throughout the nave and transepts (the Norman clerestory of the choir was destroyed in 1498), a simple billet between two round mouldings of very shallow cutting.

The refectory windows, built up in the Decorated south chambers of the cloister, are of the plainest and earliest design; and the small remains in what is called the Garner, east of the Deanery, must be of the same period.

Again, all the writers on the subject concur in assigning the steeple to Bishop Herbert. Is it at all probable it would be commenced and completed, and the west side of it left entirely open and without support? I do not think any architects would have ventured to raise it many feet above the roof of the choir and transepts until a considerable portion of the *four* flanking structures had been raised around it, to say nothing of leaving it so for half a century or more.

But Cotton says of John of Oxford: "Hic consummavit ecclesiam ab Herberto inceptam et infirmariam ædificavit et

*multa bona monachis fecit.*" This hardly supports Blomefield's statement, that "he not only completed the cathedral, which till now was never perfectly finished, but repaired that part which was burnt in his predecessor's time, and restored it to its ancient beauty, adding all such ornaments as were then wanting: being a great benefactor to the convent, he built some almshouses for the poor and impotent thereto belonging." I know of no part of the building which can be assigned to his time, except the fragment variously called the refectory, the dormitory, and, lastly, by Professor Willis, the infirmary. My reasons for not considering this the infirmary, notwithstanding the coincidence of the date of construction with the above note of Cotton, I have before stated.

Such are my reasons for concluding that Bishop Herbert really completed the entire monastery and church during his life, if he did not indeed do so before the consecration in 1101.

The precinct is entered by two gates; the upper one built by the citizens after the fire of 1272 to replace that burnt by them during the affray between the prior and themselves. This is figured at the commencement of this paper.

The lower gate stands opposite the west front of the Cathedral, although not exactly square with it, being a little north of a line drawn straight from the west door of the Cathedral, and its western face tending a little more to the south than the west front of the Cathedral: it is called the "Erpingham Gate." Blomefield says that Bishop Spencer, being very rigorous on account of Lollardy, was greatly hated by Sir Thomas Erpingham, he being a favourer of Wickliffe, and Sir Thomas was therefore enjoined by him to build this gate "as a *penance*, which still remains with the word *PENA* many times insculpted thereon, and over it in a niche is his own statue, in armour, on his knees, as begging pardon for his offence:" he adds that on the 9th of

*February*, 1400, the Bishop and Sir Thomas were by the exertions of the King made friends, which they ever after remained.

Such is Blomefield's tale of the building of this gate. The fact of its having been built by Sir Thomas Erpingham is abundantly testified by the prominent place given to his arms and those of his two wives, as well as by his effigy in a niche in the upper part. All the rest of the tale is incorrect, and is proved so by facts furnished by Blomefield himself. He says, speaking of his monument,\* "his first wife was a Walton, his second a Clopton, the former died in 1404;" but in the account of Fersfield† he states that *John Howard, Esq., of Fersfield, married Joan, daughter and heiress of Richard Walton, Knight* (though in a fine levied in 11 Henry IV. she is said to be his sister and heiress): *he died in 1410*, before his father, Sir John Howard, Knight, as his Will, proved October 26th in that year, evidently shows, in which his father and the Countess of Hertford were executors. *His wife Joan after his death married Sir Thomas Erpingham, Knight, with whom she lived till 1424*, and then left Elizabeth Howard, her only child, fourteen years old, her sole heiress.

Joan Clopton was therefore *his first wife*, but I find no note of when she married or when she died: she is mentioned in the Expense Rolls of Hawsted‡ as the Lady Erpingham, expenses being incurred in 1389 to the amount of *vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.* for her servants and horses, on a visit there to Lady Clopton.

As the arms of both wives appear upon the gate, it *must have been erected after 1411*, about which time Joan Walton married Sir Thomas; most probably (and here the style of architecture confirms the date) about 1420.

The notion therefore of Bishop Spencer forcing him to

\* Vol. IV., p. 38.

† Vol. I., p. 80.

‡ Sir John Cullum's *History of Hawsted*, p. 103.

erect it as a penance for Lollardy falls to the ground. They had made up their dispute in 1400, and the Bishop died in 1406.

The word which Blomefield mistakes for "pena," is now most commonly read (yenk) for "think." The same motto is placed several times in brass labels, on a stone commemorating a Curzoun in Bylaugh church.\*

Sir Thomas died in 1428, and was buried with his two wives in the north aisle of the choir, in the arch west of the Easter Sepulchre; but his tomb has been entirely destroyed.†

The gate-house itself must be well known from the numerous prints and views of it. It consists of a noble well-proportioned arch, supported on each side by a semi-hexagonal buttress; arch, spandrils, and buttresses being covered with sculpture. The arch mouldings are divided into two parts; the outer one containing a series of fourteen female saints, the inner one twelve male saints, admirably executed, with a light and elegant canopy over each. Four labels with the word "yenk" are placed between the bases of the shafts of the main archway across clusters of oak leaves and acorns, from which the pedestals of the lower figures emerge. The canopies are masses of luxuriant foliage, designed with the most exquisite skill. The spandrils contain the device of the Trinity on the left, the arms of Erpingham on the right. The buttresses are covered with shields and devices of the families of Erpingham, Clopton, and Walton, and bear on the top two figures of ecclesiastics, from which Blomefield has drawn some quite unfounded inferences. He states, that one "is a secular priest with a book in his hand, teaching a youth who is standing by him, whilst the other figure is a monk, with a book in his hand, surveying those who pass by; designed by the founder to signify that the *secular* clergy

\* Blomefield, Vol. VIII., p. 188. The monument is mentioned, but not the labels referred to above.

† See hereafter, in my notice of the North Aisle of the Choir.

not only laboured themselves in the word, but diligently taught the growing youth, to the benefit of the world; when the idle *regular*, who by his books also pretends to learning, did neither instruct any nor improve himself, by which he covertly lashed those that obliged him to this *penance*, and praised those that had given him instruction in the way of truth.”\* All this the late Mr. Britton very justly rejected, it being unlikely that the monks would permit any such satire to be raised on their own ground and before their faces.† But Mr. Britton overlooked the equally patent errors respecting the time and cause of its erection, although he corrects Blomefield’s additional mistake about the word “*yenk*.”

The upper part of the gate is much plainer than the rest, and is of flint with stone dressings. In the centre, under a canopy of the same period as the other sculptured decorations, is a kneeling figure of Sir Thomas Erpingham, which appears to have led Mr. Britton to the belief that it was erected as a penance, and that Blomefield was therefore right in that particular and in the date he assigned to it.

There is nothing to support the notion of this gate being erected as a penance, except the fact of Sir Thomas’s effigy being kneeling; but surely this position of the figure may be fully explained by supposing that the structure was made and completed in Sir Thomas’s lifetime. Even if this be not considered a satisfactory suggestion, the dates before given entirely destroy the ingenious account of Blomefield.

There is a want of finish about the upper part of it which leads me to the supposition that it was either completed in haste, or that it had been carried to the present height of the buttresses, then left for some time, and finished by some inferior architect to the one who made the original design.

The figures are designed with a freedom and elegance with which we have nothing to compare in the eastern counties :

\* Blomefield, Vol. IV., p. 54.

† *History and Antiquities of Norwich Cathedral*, p. 41.

they resemble very much the figures formerly in the Guildhall, London, noticed by Sir R. Westmacott with so much praise in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, Vol. III., p. 204.

The inner front is as plain and poor as can be, and quite unworthy of its elaborate and beautiful exterior.

The whole of the space on the west and north sides of the Cathedral was originally appropriated to a cemetery, up to the walls of the palace on the north side, and to those of the Strangers' Hall, cellarer's lodgings, and domestic offices on the south.

In the midst of this large space, and on the north side of the direct way from the great gate to the west door, stood the charnel-house pertaining to it. Bishop Salmon constructed the present edifice, with the chapel of St. John the Evangelist above it, about 1316; but he may have removed an older and meaner building in order to do so. The appropriation of this space as a cemetery has not, that I am aware, been elsewhere noticed; but that it was so appropriated will be clearly seen from the following evidence.

In John de Whethamstede's *Chronicle*, in his Register now in the library of the College of Arms, fol. 626, there is a record of a process had on the erection of the Priory of Wymondham into an Abbey, the Installation of the Abbot, and of the subsequent promulgation of the decisions thereon at St. Paul's Cross, London. The record continues—

“Postremo vero in cimiterio ecclesiæ Christi Norwycensis Monasterii, qui (*sic* for *quod*) vulgariter dicitur *Grene Yard*, per venerabilem virum Magistrem Johannem Molet, sacræ paginæ professorem, et ejusdem ecclesiæ commonachum, papalia indulta cum cartis regiis fuerant loculento sermone populo circumstanti distinctius expressa pariter et ostensa.”  
—1448, 1449, 1450, 26th, 27th, 28th *Henry VI.*\*

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\* Dugdale's *Monast.*, Vol. III., p. 337: Wymondham Abbey.



In the Will of Thomas Salmon, Rector of Rackheath, dated 1422, he directs his body to be buried in the cemetery of the church of the Holy Trinity of Norwich, next the porch of the chapel of the Carnary ("jux porticu capelle Carnarii"). §

The space at the east end of the Cathedral, in which stood the chapel of the Virgin, and a part of which still remains open and is called "Life's Green," was also a cemetery, probably for the monks themselves.

In the Ordinal of Brother R. de Lok, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the Palm Sunday procession, after proceeding to the place where the branches and flowers were blessed by the bishop,—"*ad capellam in curia episcopi*,"—goes forth *by the Cemetery and Cloister* and by the *Great Locutory* (confirming Professor Willis in his suggestion as to the position of that building at the north-west angle of the cloister) into the court before the Strangers' Hall. The old chapel of St. Mary, "the chapel in the court of the Bishop," above alluded to, stood east of the Bishop's palace; the procession therefore passed from this round the space now occupied by houses and buildings at the east end of the Cathedral, over Life's Green, through the narrow passage between the south transept and chapter-house, along the north walk of the cloister, which had at its western extremity the door of the Great Locutory, west of which was a small court enclosed by a wall, and to the south, the hall appropriated to strangers.

In the Green Yard, to the north of the nave, a massive stone coffin was found in the year 1848, in the course of the removal of the large accumulation of earth which disfigured the architectural elevation and injured the fabric. There can be no doubt, from the position of it and the state of its contents, that it was not *in situ*: it may not, however, have been

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\* *Register*, Hirning, Norwich Archdeaconry Registry, p. 91.

far from its original position. The recent repairs of the north wall of the nave have obliterated the traces of the gallery which was at one time constructed there for the prebends and officers of the Cathedral, and their families, to hear the Green Yard sermons after the Reformation.

An error very commonly prevails, that these sermons were only commenced after the Reformation; but the preceding extract from Whethamstede's *Chronicle* (p. 266) and the Accounts of the Chamberlain of Norwich, noticed in the fifth volume of the *Norfolk Archæology*, will show that they were of much earlier date. The actual entry in the Chamberlain's Account for 1370, runs as follows:—

“Item, for one piece of green worstede, grievously damaged on the erection of the platform [before the gate of the Friars Preachers, on the visit of Queen Elizabeth Woodville to Norwich,] and therefore bought and delivered for the seats of the Aldermen at the Green Yard Sermons within the Priory, 24s.”

The blocked-up entrance into this Green Yard is in the north wall of the nave in the seventh bay from the west end; and there is a plan in the fourth volume of Sir Thomas Browne's Works, by Wilkin, showing the position of the pulpit and galleries. Sir Thomas Browne's account of it is as follows:—

“Before the late times the Combination Sermons were preached, in the summer time, at the Cross in the Green Yard, where there was a good accommodation for the auditors. The Mayor, Aldermen, with their wives and officers, had a well-contrived place built against the wall of the Bishop's palace, covered with lead, so that they were not offended by rain. Upon the north side of the church, places were built gallery-wise, one above another, where the dean, prebends, and their wives, gentlemen, and the better sort, very well heard the sermon: the rest either stood or sat in the green, upon long forms provided for them, paying a

penny or halfpenny apiece, as they did at St. Paul's Cross in London. The bishop and chancellor heard the sermons at the windows of the Bishop's palace: the pulpit had a large covering of lead over it, and a cross upon it; and there were eight or ten stairs of stone about it, upon which the hospital boys and others stood. The preacher had his face to the south, and there was a painted board, of a foot and a half broad and about a yard and a half long, hanging over his head, before, upon which was painted the names of the benefactors towards the Combination Sermon." \*

The Cathedral itself now claims our attention. Its original plan comprised a nave of great length, choir with semi-circular east end, and transepts. On the east side of north and south transepts an apsidal chapel projected, as at Thetford and Castle Acre, and at the east end of the choir small circular chapels, of remarkable design, are placed north and south, and a small apsidal chapel formed the original eastern extremity of the edifice.

*Nave.*—Of the nave, the central aisle, triforium and clerestory, and north and south aisles, are nearly all Norman; the west door and window, the roofs of the centre aisles and of the triforium walks, are Perpendicular; still later are the alterations of two bays of the south aisle to form a monumental chapel for Bishop Nix.

The remains of the moulding on which the Norman roof terminated may be observed at intervals along the clerestory: the magnificent stone vaulting was the work of Bishop Lyhart, between 1426 and 1436: his rebus occurs frequently on the corbels of the shafts which support the roof. According to Philip Browne, the painstaking clerk of Winfarthing, who bestowed considerable time and trouble about the description of the bosses of this roof and of the cloister, there were here "328 historical figures curiously carved." The series begins

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\* *Repertorium*, Sir Thomas Browne's Works, by Wilkin, Vol. IV., p. 27.

at the tower end with the Creation, and ends at the other extremity with the Last Judgment. In 1806 the roof was washed of a stone colour, and all the painting and gilding with which these bosses were adorned completely obliterated. Exactly in the centre of this roof, between the west door and choir screen, is a circular opening of considerable size. This has been a subject often inquired into, without any reasonable suggestion offering itself. I think the following extract from Lambard's *Topographical Dictionary*, quoted by Warton,\* will furnish one.

"I myself, being a child, once saw in Poule's Church at London, at a feast of Whitsontide, wheare the comyng down of the Holy Gost was set forth by a white pigeon that was let to fly out of a hole that is yet to be seen in the mydst of the roof of the great ile, and by a long censer which, descending out of the same place almost to the very ground, was swung up and down at such a length that it reached at one swepe almost to the west gate of the church, and with the other to the queer stairs of the same, breathing out over the whole church and companie a most pleasant perfume of such sweet things as burned therein."

It seems to me the hole in the roof of the nave of the Cathedral was used for the same purpose. There are charges in the Sacrist Rolls, I observed at a stolen peep during Professor Willis's permitted examination of them, for letting a man down from the roof, habited as an angel, with a censer to cense the rood.† The hole above mentioned appears to be the only place in the roof from which this feat could have been accomplished.

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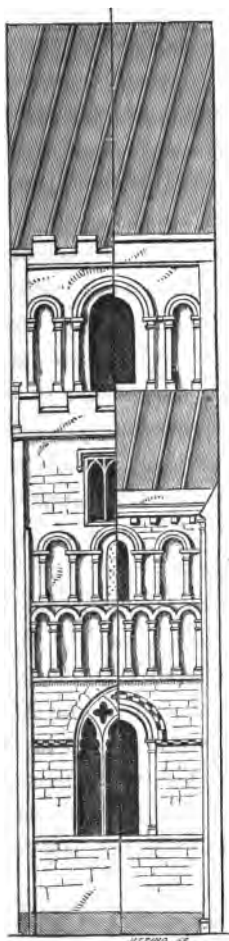
\* *History of English Poetry*, Vol. I., p. 240.

† I have in vain applied for an examination of these and other documents relating to the Cathedral: my application, described by the Dean as unprecedented, was firmly refused by the Chapter. Every one will feel thankful for the facilities afforded Professor Willis and Mr. Way; but surely, with such an immense mass of material, the admission accorded to them can be no reason for excluding everybody else.

The raising of the triforium roofs, and the insertion of the great western door and window, preceded this alteration of the central roof, having been done by Bishop Alnwick and his executors. His Will, quoted by Blomefield in his memoir of him,\* directs his executors to make at his cost one great

window above the western door of the church, to the *decoration* and *illumination* of the same (proved 10th December, 1449). The door had, therefore, been erected before by the Bishop himself. There are the arms of the See and his own in the spandrels of the door, enclosed in a garter having the inscription—

*Orate pro anima Domini  
Willelmi Alnwyk.*



These alterations very much impaired the effect of the original design, however much the dark nave may have been improved in illumination. What the Norman design of the west end of the centre aisle may have been cannot now be discovered, but enough remains of the Norman work of the west ends of the north and south aisles to show what the original appearance of them must have been. The subjoined elevation of one compartment of the exterior of the south wall of the nave shows one half of it as altered; the other in its original state.

The enormous, disproportioned, size of the west window is a great defect in the appearance of

\* Vol. IV., p. 531, note 6.

the west front, both from the inside and outside; and the painted glass inserted to the memory of Bishop Stanley has very little improved its appearance. The form of the window and its tracery are identical with those of the west window of Westminster Hall.

My objections to the style of the painted glass lately inserted, are given at full in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1853, and I believe are now much more generally concurred in than when first published. I regretted, and still regret, the design was not in accordance with the style and tracery of the window, and still think it unworthy of the place it occupies, and the prelate it commemorates.

Two other attempts at adornment in the shape of memorial windows require a passing word. One, in the south aisle in the western bay of Bishop Nix's chapel, in memory of some of the family of Hales, of Norwich, may be described as a rather good design, but of bad colour. The other, to the memory of — Smyth, Professor of Modern History, in the north aisle, may be noticed as the very essence of bad taste and bungling. The drawing, arrangement, and colour are all pretended imitations of early work, in which nothing is really faithful, but the bad drawing of the figures (just the point which might have been departed from) and it has an inscription running along the bottom so compressed as to be scarcely legible. To assist the "gentle reader," a slab of white marble is inserted in the head of an arch of the Norman arcade below, with an English inscription, that in the window being Latin. The Latin inscription asserts, that the Professor died "in venta Belgarum," that is, at Winchester. The English inscription states, that he died "in this city," as he certainly did.

*Bishop Nix's Chapel.*—The monumental chapel of Bishop Nix, in the architecture of the early part of the sixteenth century, with the elaborate tracery of the vaulting and highly ornamented panels, niches, and canopies, occupied two bays

of the south aisle, about half way down the nave. In it still remains the iron-work on which the bell hung. The bronze or iron railing round it, with the stone pulpit which projected from the pillar east of it into the nave, were destroyed at the rebellion. This chapel is lighted by windows in the south wall, opening into the space over the north walk of the cloister, showing that on this side the cloister gallery was never completed, or, if completed, had been unroofed some time before the Reformation.

The lower part of the present screen to the choir is a restoration of the original one. The choir is entered by a central door, which the style of architecture and the arms and hart in the spandrils show to have been erected by Bishop Lyhart.

On each side this central door, enclosed in wooden screens, extending to the next column westward were small chapels, the altar in that on the north side being dedicated to St. William (the boy said to be crucified by the Jews in 1137) and the other to St. Mary, which was called, says Blomefield, the Precentor's Altar.

The destruction of monuments at the time of the rebellion was terrible, particularly so at this part of the nave: among others were the effigies of Bishops Scambler and Parkhurst on the right, and the monumental chapel of the Hobarts on the left. Not a brass remains throughout the church, except a small inscribed one in Jesus Chapel. Bishops Lyhart and Brown \* had slabs, with brasses over them, in front of the

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\* The jealousy always subsisting between the two great authorities, the Bishop and Prior, in mediæval times, broke out occasionally into violent quarrels: here is the final close of two happening between Bishop Brown (who appears to have been particularly determined on due respect being paid to him) and Prior Heverlond, within a very short time of each other, both arising from the same cause,—the lesser dignitary not paying his superior proper deference.

“Mem<sup>m</sup>. that on Monday, in the vigil of All Saints, 1443, the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Father in God Thomas Bishop of Norwich, performing vespers in pontificals

rood-loft: even the stones which contained their brasses have been removed.

The upper part of the screen, where once was the rood-loft, has been rebuilt after a design by an eminent architect. Whether he also furnished the design of the organ case or

in his Cathedral Church; John Heverlond, Prior of the said Cathedral, walking to the said Rev<sup>d</sup>. Father, censed the high altar, and returning from the said high altar held the cope reverently, and a little raised. And after the censing of the altar, the said Prior, together with brother Robert Yermouthe, a co-monk, censed the Bishop as he stood in his episcopal seat.

"These being present, Mr. John Wyggenhale, Doctor of Decrees, Nicholas Derman, Robert Appulby, Simon Thornham, Bachelor of Decrees, Thomas Creme, Notary Public, and Christ<sup>r</sup>. Straunge, Esq., and others.

"Also, the day of All Saints, the year aforesaid, the said Rev<sup>d</sup>. Father walked in procession about the cloister of his Cathedral Church in pontificals; the said John Heverlond, Prior, as the highest person after the Bishop, held the cope of the said Bishop, elevated, with reverence, on the left hand side.

"Also, the said Rev<sup>d</sup>. Father, the same day celebrated High Mass at the High Altar in pontificals, and after 'Agnus Dei,' the Prior (as the highest person, &c.) ministered the osculatory Pacis. These present witnessing, the above named, and also Wm. Hert and John Wysdam.

"Also, the 14th December, in the year aforesaid, the said Rev<sup>d</sup>. Father returning from London to the said Cathedral Church bent his way. To which Rev<sup>d</sup>. Father, after prayers by him before the High Altar, the Prior (as the highest, &c.) proceeded to him and ministered the crucifix to be kissed. Present Wyggenhale, Derman, Hert, John Bulman, and Thomas Creme.

"And also, the same day, the said Rev<sup>d</sup>. Father, in his parlour within his Manor of Thorp, personally confirmed the said John Heverlond, Prior of the said Church, and John de Bonewell and Richard de Salthouse being presented by the said Prior, the said Rev<sup>d</sup>. Father, according to the form of the new ordinances appointed between the said Bishop and Prior, admitted to kiss and blessing, and to them gave kiss and benediction. Present Wyggenhale and Derman."—*Institution Book*, Vol. X., p. 109.

"*Agreement, 8th April, 1444:—*

"When the Bishop is at the Cathedral Church, after praying before the altar and kissing same, the Prior, if present, the crucifix or osculatory shall reverently minister.

"Also the crucifix, after 'confiteor,' and the textus Evangelium, after



not, I am unable to say : I trust for his reputation's sake he did not. It is enough to have perpetrated the design for the stone-work, without the additional burthen of the tasteless edifice which rises above it. It is much to be desired that some modification of the exaggerated enormities of the latter could be effected.

The ante-choir occupies the space under the organ loft, between two columns. It was in mediæval times a chapel dedicated to our Lady of Pity. The present north and south

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'Evangelium;' also osculatory and pax, after 'Agnus Dei,' to reverently minister.

"And if it should happen the Bishop be present to hear mass, the Prior, the textus Evangelium and Pax, after 'Agnus Dei,' *without fraud, action, or subterfuge*, shall reverently minister to the said Bishop.

"Also in procession the said Prior is to walk therein, *not in advance*, but somewhat drawn back and holding the cope of the Bishop a little raised.

"And that the said Prior shall neither have his cope raised nor borne.

"Also, that at vespers and matins said by the Bishop in the said Cathedral, when the High Altar, the Founder, or the tomb of St. William, is censed, or ought according to the custom of the said church to be censed, the Prior, with a monk appointed by the Prior for the purpose, shall cense the Bishop himself wherever, whether in stall or in choir, the said Bishop may happen to stand or sit.

"Also, when the Bishop shall happen to return after two months absence, or from any place three miles or more from the said city, in his coming to the said church, the Prior and convent shall ring the bells in the belfry in the choir as the bells of the parochial churches are rung.

"Also, on the septennial visitation, the Prior and convent shall honorably receive the Bishop in a solemn procession, with silken copes and with ringing of bells, at the door of the nave of the church, and shall there cense him, and the textus Evangelium and holy water carrying and ministering according to the manner and form used in such processions. And then the procession to proceed to the choir chanting responses, which said chanting, prayers, and orations completed, the said Prior shall carry to the Bishop the textus Evangelium or other osculatory to the high altar; which done and benediction given by the Bishop, then all to proceed to the chapter-house, and visitation to be made according to the traditions of the Fathers and the Sacred Canons."—*Institution Book*, Vol. X., p. 111.

These disputes had been in existence several years, for there is an agreement of somewhat a similar character (but not so full) made 6th April, 1441.

screens were designed after, if they do not actually contain, the stone-work of the Perpendicular screen, which formerly separated Jesus Chapel from the north aisle of the choir, and which has been removed entirely without reasonable cause or excuse. In Britton's *History* (1816) there is a very beautiful plate of it. It was *in situ* within the last twenty years.

*Choir.*—The choir, as in most Norman cathedrals, commences before the junction of the nave and transepts, so as to include the two last bays of the nave within its enclosure, and once completely separated the north from the south transept. Late alterations have caused the opening of the transepts into the choir, thus giving much additional accommodation.

The choir has not been lengthened eastward, as is the case with so many of our churches, and therefore preserves in a great degree the beauty of proportion which the Norman architect gave it. The semicircular sweep of the presbytery arches is a great addition to the beauty of the structure.

Numerous additions and alterations have been made, both in ancient and modern days.

The first and most important alteration must have been that of Bishop Goldwell, who, about 1480, in consequence of the destruction of the wooden roof of the choir and the damaging of the clerestory by lightning in 1463, erected the present light and elegant clerestory and stone roof. The east side of the tower shows distinctly the height of the Norman clerestory, about half that of the present one; and in the wall of the triforium walks at the east end, are the flying buttresses which supported the Norman apse. These latter were pointed out by Professor Willis at his Lecture on the Cathedral during the Meeting of the Institute; and Mr. J. A. Repton, in his series of beautiful drawings of the Cathedral architecture made long before that time, had included a design showing the manner in which the Norman roof and clerestory terminated eastward. The three easternmost windows have been filled with painted glass of better and more

appropriate character than much of the other glass in the Cathedral; but proper attention has not been given to preserving a harmony of colour, an oversight which damages the general effect. The stone roof of this part of the church is less ornate than any other. The bosses, which are so elaborate and varied there, are here very poor; the bishop's rebus forming the subject of the majority of them.

The interior of the tower is Early Norman, very plain, but very grand and beautiful. Above the great arches runs a bold and simple arcade, pierced with a passage leading to the roofs of the building. Above it, a simple arcade just relieves the plain wall, except at the extremity of each face, where it is pierced by a large circular aperture, which, however, does not go quite through the wall. Above this, the wall is again recessed for another passage, in front of long narrow windows, three on each side, the shafts of the columns being of considerable length and admirably proportioned to the great height at which they are placed. The present ceiling of the tower is a very poor and ugly painted one, in what, I presume, must be called the Italian style, if it has indeed any pretension to style at all.

The exterior of the tower, although it was damaged in 1361 and has been entirely refaced in 1856, retains in a great measure its original Norman features. The four turrets, completed in the Perpendicular period, and crowned with spires of that date, are otherwise of Norman design, but the battlements are entirely Perpendicular, as is the lofty central spire, which adds so much beauty to the general effect of the exterior of the Cathedral.

The stall-work of the choir is of very good Perpendicular design, and is usually assigned to Bishop Goldwell's time. A very judicious restoration has been effected here, and it is quite refreshing to find something in the modern repairs, in the propriety of which we can concur. I can just remember the whole of these stalls being painted in the taste of the

last century, if my memory serves me, with white or grey paint. The whole of this paint has been removed, and the broken parts replaced most carefully and judiciously.

The stalls are still sixty-two in number—the entire number anciently required for prior, sub-prior, and sixty monks. Each of these stalls retains its subsellium, modernly, but, I cannot help thinking, erroneously, called a “*Miserere*.”

This, as is well known, turns back on hinges, and exhibits on the under portion an elaborate design carved with great vigour and skill. The top, when the seat is turned up on its hinges, has a small ledge, on which, it has been said, the aged monks were permitted, as an indulgence, to sit during service.

Surely the term “*Miserere*” must be a misnomer, and the explanation as to the old monks a very *feeble* one. Is it likely that every seat should be constructed thus, because in some convents a few aged monks were permitted the indulgence of a seat? The seats were just the same in the choirs of every parochial and collegiate church.\*

I have seen the sacrist, or some officer of the church, in more than one of the churches of Belgium, go round after

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\* Ducange, under *Misericordia*, describes these seats, and suggests their affording a rest for aged and infirm monks as the origin of the name. The examples he cites from monastic records do not support that idea. Dr. Milner is the first author I meet with who calls them *Misereres*; and some of his suggestions of the uses of them are very absurd. He says: “That small shelving stool, which the seats of the stalls formed when turned up in their proper position, is called a *Miserere*. On these the monks or canons of ancient times, with the assistance of their elbows on the upper part of the stalls, half-supported themselves during certain parts of their long offices, not to be obliged always to stand or kneel. This stool, however, is so contrived that, if the body became supine by sleep, it naturally fell down, and the person who rested upon it was thrown forward into the middle of the choir. The present usage in this country is to keep them *always* turned down, in which position they form a firm horizontal seat, an indulgence that was rarely granted to those who kept choir in ancient times.”—Dr. Milner’s *History of Winchester*, 1799, Vol. II., p. 36.

service was ended and turn the seat up on the hinge, and thus expose the fine carvings of the under face, and protect the seat from the dust and dirt, which, particularly where numbers of lamps and candles are constantly burning, would otherwise unpleasantly accumulate.

The ledge forms a very good rest for the elbows, when kneeling with the face to the inside of the stall in prayer, and may possibly account for the name by which this form of seat is now known.

In a list of the subjects of the carvings on the seats in the Cathedral, contributed by the Rev. Richard Hart to the second volume of our *Norfolk Archæology*, p. 246, he gives an opinion, that the arms and costume sufficiently identify the date of these designs to be about 1480.

Shortly before these carvings were described by Mr. Hart, Mr. Thomas Wright had, at a meeting of the Archæological Association, made a very valuable suggestion on the choice of subjects for such decorations, and justly ridiculed the prevailing notion that they were intended for satires on either seculars or the monks themselves. This notion he maintained had arisen entirely from mistaking the subjects represented, and he gave numerous examples of such carvings, pointing out the sources from whence they had been taken, viz., the illuminations and cuts from Bestiaries, Fables, Calendars, and Romances. From such sources many of the subjects on the Cathedral seats must have been derived. The following woodcut shows the spirited manner in which these have been copied. It is No. 32 in the list in the Appendix, and represents a fox running off with a goose, the good woman of the farm dashing a blow at him with her distaff.\*

The popular notion is, as I before said, that these stalls

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\* Mr. Hart erroneously suggests that the subject is the Prodigal Son feeding swine, but adds a query.

and seats are of Bishop Goldwell's time; but, after a careful examination, I cannot agree in that conclusion. The stalls themselves appear to be of earlier date than the canopy-work above them, which may be of the middle of the 15th



MISERERE, SOUTH STALLS, No. 32.

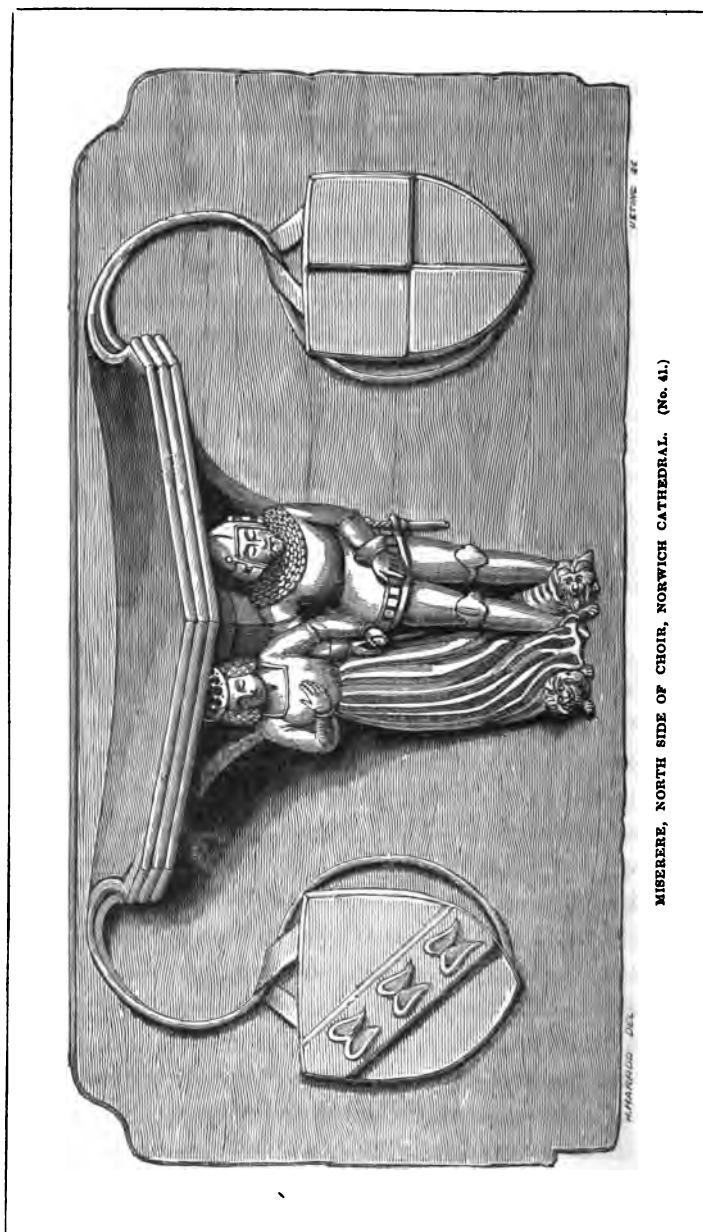
century, and the seats within the stalls are of two periods. I have distinguished them in the list in the Appendix. The twenty-four earlier ones (which I have distinguished by a †) have the ledge of a fan-like shape with sharp angles, like those at pp. 282 and 285; whilst the rest (marked with a ⊙) have a ledge rounded at the sides and sinking inwards in the centre, as in the example above, and are altogether different in design and execution. The dresses and armour in the former pertain to the close of the fourteenth and the commencement of the fifteenth century: the latter more nearly to the period to which Mr. Hart refers them. I have availed myself of his list, which will be found in Appendix B, with some variations, where I differ from him after a very careful examination.

I fear we must not lay overmuch stress on costume, if it be, as is supposed, that these carvings are copies of cuts in *Bestiaria*, &c.; for in that case the costume would be probably of older, in some cases perhaps of very much older, date than that of the carved-work. However, here the arms assist us. We have those of Sir Thomas Erpingham (No. 10) who died in 1428; and, close by the figures of the man and wife, with the arms of Clere and Witchingham (No. 6), are the effigies of Sir William Clere and Dionysia Witchingham, whom he married in 1351, and who were both dead by 1400. They appear higher up, on another seat which I have engraved at p. 285. No. 41, which I have also engraved (p. 282) shows a male and female,—Sir Robert Wingfield and Margaret, his wife, daughter of Sir William Boville, dead by 1380. The armour of this knight, in No. 41, is that of the latter part of the fourteenth century. It is studiously accurate in all its points: the figures look like portraits. The costume of the knight attacking the dragon (No. 27) is of the same date: the peculiar tight-fitting sleeve, with numberless buttons along the lower part of the arm, seen in male costume in the Lynn brasses of 1349 and 1364, and as late as in that of Lady Felbrigg, 1413,\* although at the latter date they had long vanished or become old-fashioned in male attire, are observable. The costume of the figures in the wrestling piece (No. 18) is clearly fifty years later. So that, with all submission to those who have preceded me in describing them, I think I have clearly proved that these seats are of two periods,—twenty-four of them towards the close of the fourteenth, the rest not later than the middle of the fifteenth century.

Another point of much interest is this: Were these carvings, as is alleged, made the vehicle of satire on the ecclesiastics? I have never yet seen one I could fairly say was so

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\* See Cotman's *Norfolk Brasses*.





intended, and there are certainly none amongst these. But Mr. Hart is of that opinion, and his opinion is of course entitled to great respect. In the paper I have referred to, he takes Blomefield's description of the seats (now gone) which were formerly in the church of St. Peter per Mountergate, as decisive evidence in favour of the idea that it was a practice to indulge in satire in them, on the monks or secular clergy. Blomefield describes fifteen of these. Mr. Hart admits all do not bear upon the point; but it is quite clear that every man with a hood to his cloak was in Blomefield's eye a monk in a cowl. The very first of them he describes as "A woman playing on a harp, and a *monk* transfixing the head of a unicorn reclining in her lap." Who does not here at once recognize that favourite subject of the mediæval artist, evidently copied from the *Bestiaria*, showing the manner in which the unicorn was usually taken,—the maiden with her music soothing the monster to sleep, which is then transfixed with a spear by a man with a cloak and hood? The next is described as "Two cockatrices and three monks, one holding three arrows; another had a staff in his hand, a bag fastened to his girdle, and a cowl at his back, and the third held a sword." The cockatrices are clearly the ornaments of the foliation: the central subject was *three saints* with their attributes—1, St. Sebastian; 2, St. James; and, 3, St. Fabian. The one numbered 7 is described as "A monk with a rosary, issuing out of a welk-shell and holding a cart saddle!" This will be immediately recognized as the same subject as No 2 of the Cathedral series: in place of a rosary, there is a sword in the right hand; in the left, a book: the general resemblance is so great, that there can be no doubt Blomefield took the book with the back displayed for a cart-saddle, as may very easily be done with the Cathedral example.

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\* The beautiful ivory casket disposed of at the sale of the late Mr. Stevenson's collection had the same subject in one of its exquisitely-carved panels.

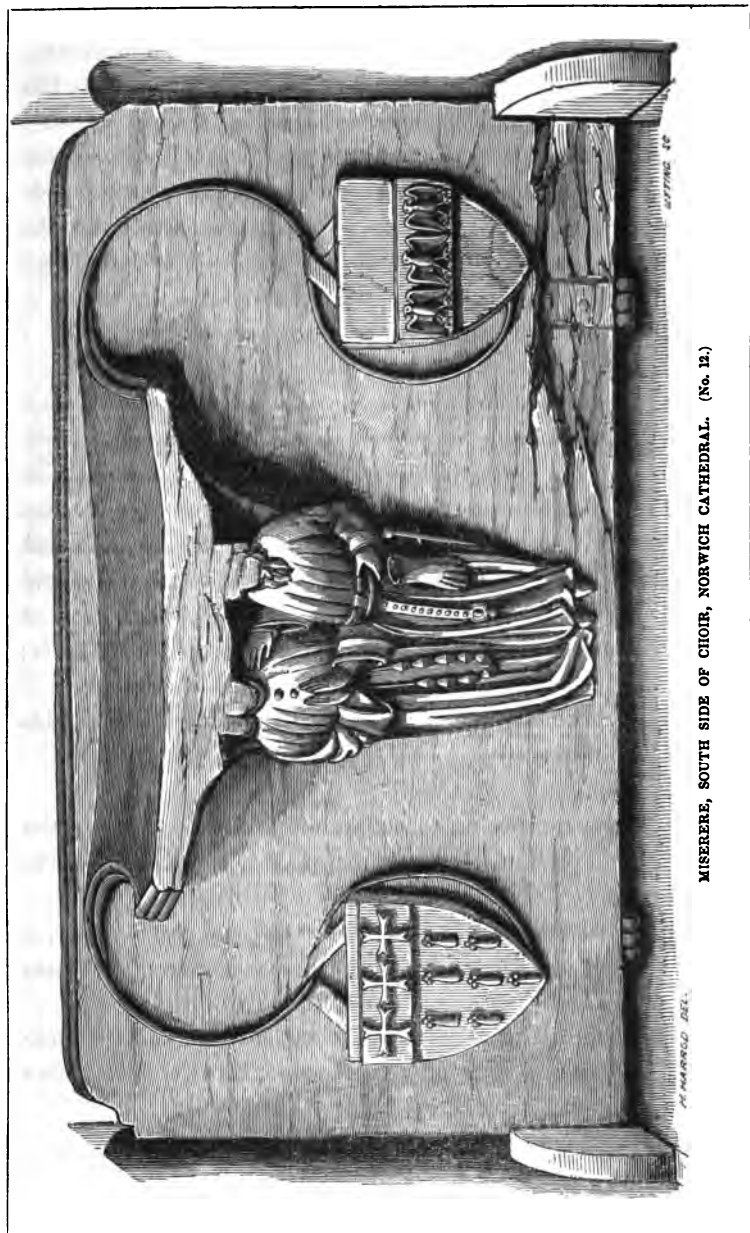
"9. A mermaid suckling a merboy," has its counterpart in No. 43 of the Cathedral series. "10. Hercules, armed with a club, holding a chained lion," is identical with No. 33, Cathedral. "11. A lion, seizing a dragon," with No. 4.

The only subjects of the whole series quoted by Mr. Hart, in which anything like satire can be for a moment suggested, are—

3. Two monkeys, in full *monastic* costume, playing on the bagpipes.
4. A *monk* thrusting out his stomach and blowing a horn : his hinder part being a lion.
6. A fox, dressed like a *monk*, with a pilgrim's staff in his hand, enticing chickens to him and then seizing them.

Blomefield evidently, in the first of the series, mistook the ordinary cloak and hood for monkish attire ; and has he not also in the above ? It was a common mode of illustrating the *Bestiaria* to draw animals engaged in the pursuits of, and dressed as, men or women. The subject is one of much interest ; and although I have been led a little away from the Cathedral and Priory, I trust I may be pardoned for endeavouring to clear away the errors which our County Historian has introduced.

The last great alteration within the choir in the mediæval period was made early in the sixteenth century, in that portion of it between the tower and the presbytery. The whole of the lower range of arches on each side were changed from Norman to Late Perpendicular. The arch introduced is of the depressed pointed form and the vaulting covered with florid tracery ; instead of the plain shafts of the Norman style between the arches, niches and canopies of elaborate design cover the face of the wall. This screen-work terminates at the level of the triforium floor with an elegant perforated stone parapet. The triforium arches remain untouched. The Norman workmen had built this end of the choir slightly



out of the straight line, so that a line drawn through the centre of the nave would strike the east end of the presbytery some inches south of the actual central point of it. The Perpendicular walls have been built so as in some measure to correct this deviation, and the consequence has been that the central shaft of the two eastern arches on the south side would, if it had been left in its place, have overhung the parapet; but it has been completely removed and the wall made flat up to the spring of the arches. All the shafts in the same position on the north side are pared down in a similar way.

The easternmost arch on each side has a shield in each spandril, and a range of panels above it containing shields. The arch on the south side has seven shields, all charged with arms; the northern one has five, of which four contain arms, and the fifth is blank. The other three arches on each side have a shield in each spandril, and a single panel and shield above the centre of the arch; but only the arches next to those above mentioned have the shields charged with arms; the two other arches on each side have the shields plain.

The easternmost arch on the south side has seven shields of arms; these are—

1. *Boleyn*.
2. *Boleyn*, quartering three mullets; the first match in the pedigree in a succeeding page. *Bracton* az. three mullets or.
3. *Boleyn*, impaling 1 and 4 *Hoo*; 2 and 3 *St. Omer*, a match in the *Hoo* pedigree. Escutcheon of pretence *St. Leger*, another match in the *Hoo* pedigree.
4. *Hoo* and his matches as in the last coat, impaling *Witchingham*, ermine on a chief sable, three crosses pattee arg.
5. The same as 1.
6. Same as 2.
7. Same as 3.

The opposite arch on the north side has—

1. *Boleyn*, impaling *Bracton* as in No. 2 of the south side.
2. Same as 3 of it.
3. The coat as in No. 4 of it, except that the escutcheon of pretence with the arms of *St. Leger* is omitted.
4. The same as No. 1.
5. Blank.

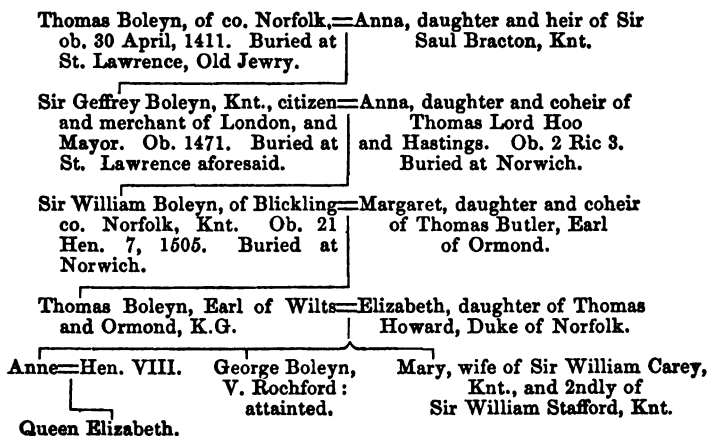
The second arch on the south side has—

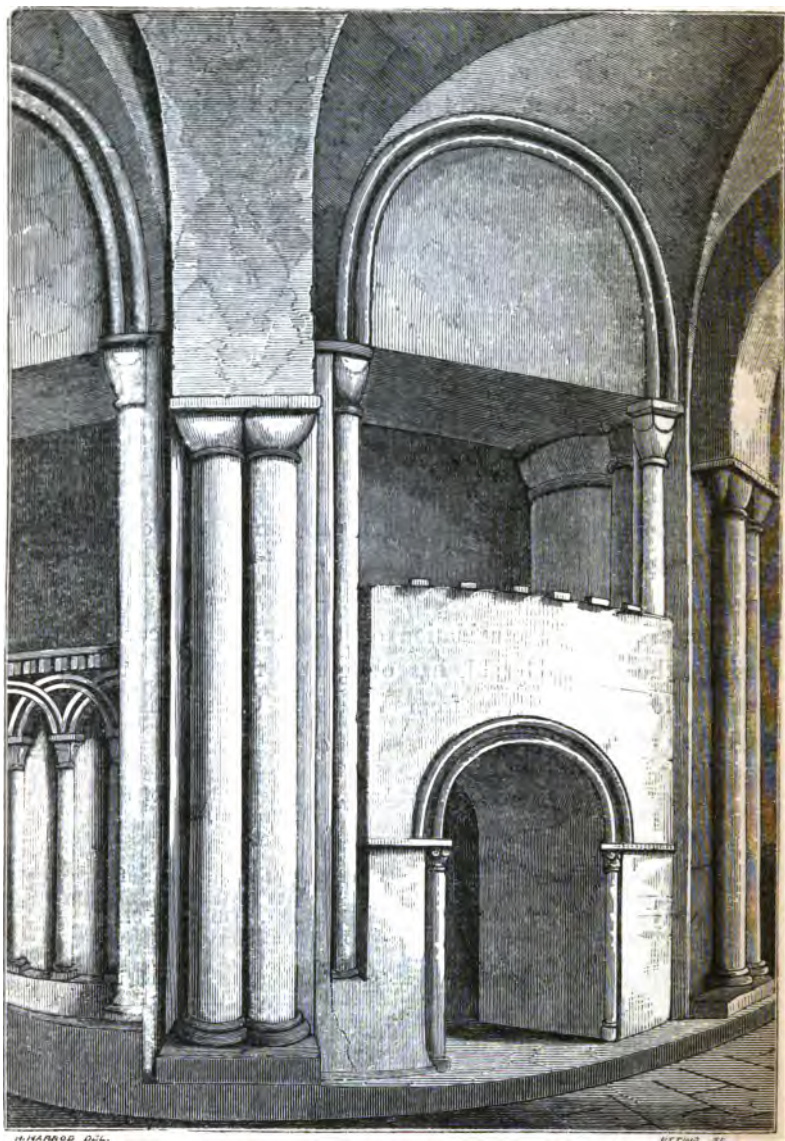
1. *Boleyn*, quartering *Hoo* impaling *Butler* or, a chief indented az.; a match in the annexed pedigree.
2. *Boleyn*, quartering *Bracton* as before.
3. *Boleyn*, impaling *Hoo* as in No. 3 of the first arch.

The opposite arch on the north side has—

1. *Boleyn*, impaling *Hoo*, &c.
2. *Boleyn*, impaling *Bracton*.
3. *Hoo*, impaling *Witchingham*, as in the first arch on the opposite side, No. 4.

To assist in the elucidation of this heraldic record, Mr. King, the York Herald, has obligingly furnished me with the following pedigree from Vincent's Collections in the College of Arms.





ARCH BENEATH BISHOP'S THRONE, EAST END OF CHOIR, NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

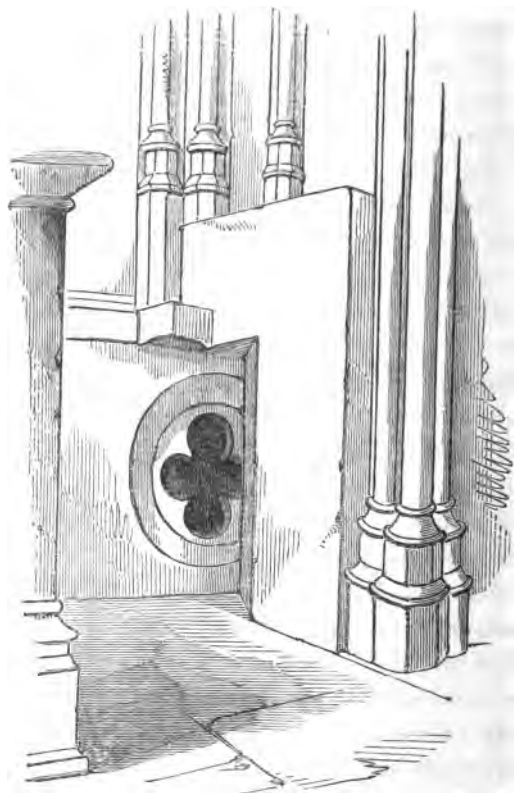
Here, then, we have a memorial of Sir William Boleyn of Blickling, who died 1505, and whose monument was in the first arch on the south side; and we may therefore conclude that this screen-work was erected by the Boleyn family after his death.

This Perpendicular work terminated eastward at the piers of the presbytery, which includes the five arches of the apse. These arches had originally a stone screen in each, extending to half its height, forming a stone bench in the hollow of each arch, except in the centre one, which had a stone chair or throne for the Bishop above the rest, ascended by steps at the back of the altar. The back of this screen-work, next the outer aisle, was ornamented with an arcade of interlaced arches, having a billet moulding above, except in the central arch, which has only a Norman door or recess opening from the aisle into the wall beneath the throne, as shown in the view on the opposite page. May not this be an opening to a vault beneath the presbytery,—a “confessio,” or something of that sort? It is walled-up at 2 ft. 10 in. from the shafts of the columns at its entrance, and narrows from 3 ft. 7 in. to 3 ft. 1 in. at the further part, where there is a small square depression of the surface, as if an aperture had been closed up or a tablet had formerly been inserted there. Although the founder’s tomb was in front of the high altar, may not his bones have rested in a vault beneath the altar of which this arch formed the entrance?

There is, however, some doubt where the high altar was. For many years after the Reformation, the presbytery was cut off from the choir by a wooden screen, in front of which stood the Communion Table, and this has been thought by some to be the site of the high altar. Professor Willis placed the high altar still more west, believing a hagioscope in the arch on the north side to be intended to afford a sight of it from the north aisle.

I am inclined myself to place it within the presbytery, but

a little in advance of the ancient Bishop's throne. As the only ground for the contrary opinion stated by Professor Willis, in his lecture, was the existence of the hagioscope, and as the recess in which it is placed has some curious features about it, I would endeavour to assign it to its proper use before going further.



EAST END OF EASTER SEPULCHRE.

In the north aisle, behind this recess, is a low stone vaulting of the Decorated period, supporting a gallery raised a few feet above the level of the floor of the choir. There are two bays of this vaulting; and in the head of the arch of



the eastern one is the large quatrefoil opening or hagioscope referred to. Blomefield's description of the place is this:—

“ . . . We come to the ancient *confessionary* . . . : it is an arched stone vault, through which we pass in going from the quire to Jesus' Chapel, but was formerly very dark; here the people stood when they confessed to the priest, who stood within the altar rails, between the eighteenth and nineteenth north pillars, the voice coming through a hole made in the wall for that purpose, which still remains; this place is now called Queen Elizabeth's seat, because that Queen, when she attended service here, sat in a seat prepared for her between these pillars.”

He, as usual, gives no authority for this statement; but this low vault has certainly long had the name of the “Confessionary.” On examination, however, it is certain that the priest within the choir could not have heard the confession, unless he had laid himself down; and it was not the usual place: the north transept probably contained the wooden structures made use of for such a purpose. Philip Browne follows Blomefield, and adds, “the chamber over the confessionary has no windows, nor any way of ascent up to it.”\* Professor Willis, in his observations, whilst justly ridiculing Blomefield's error, conjectured that this aperture afforded a view of the high altar, and on that conjecture fixed the site of the altar in the middle of the space between the first and second flights of steps, and not in the centre of the presbytery, as I have supposed it to be. As his only ground for placing it there was the existence of this aperture, and his opinion is one not to be lightly dealt with, I would beg my readers to examine the sketch of it on the opposite page, taken from within the choir.

It will be seen by this, that the aperture is at the north-east corner of the recess, and that a large flat stone has been

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\* P. Browne's Account, 1785, p. 22.

cut away in order that the whole of the quatrefoil may be clear. Now if this aperture had been made for the purpose of obtaining a view of the altar placed in the middle of the choir, opposite to the recess in which this opening exists, why was it not placed clear of the obstruction seen in the sketch? In the *western* bay of the vault the view would not have been at all intercepted.

I felt at the time I had the pleasure of hearing Professor Willis, that in this particular his explanations were unsatisfactory; and having since carefully examined the locality, I beg to add my own conjecture upon it, first of all adding a sketch of the other, or north-west corner of the recess, showing the Norman column cut away, and the Perpendicular bases and shafts engrafted upon it.



WEST END OF EASTER SEPULCHRE.

But for what reason was it that these bases were not placed on the floor? It was clearly because there was some erection in the way; and this was, I believe, the Easter Sepulchre.\*

In the magnificent sepulchre at Northwold, in this county, of which a view will be found in the fourth volume of the *Norfolk Archæology*, there is an arched aperture in a similar position to the hagnoscope here, communicating with the sacristy adjoining, and permitting the important duty of watching the sepulchre light during the ceremonies of Easter, without entering the choir; and the gallery in the aisle might contain a pair of organs for assisting the service here and in Jesus' Chapel adjoining.

The position I assign to the Easter Sepulchre is that which it occupies in every example I have seen. The old singing school was in the north aisle, east of the gallery and in front of the entrance to Jesus' Chapel, a position having no possible recommendation, unless it were that the organs were placed above.

The statue of Bishop Bathurst, by Chantrey, now stands in this recess, and the pedestal is the object an angle of which appears in each of my sketches.

In the centre of the roof, above the spot assigned by others as the site of the high altar, is a small round hole, from which, I believe, hung the light of the sacrament, the usual place of which was before the altar, and not above it. From hence, at Easter, might the light have been let down to fire the great sepulchre light. The hole is not a forced one: it was made when the roof was built.

Before leaving the choir, a few words should be said of

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\* The Prior was obliged to pay 10s. a year to find a wax taper burning at our Lord's Sepulchre, one of which was in those days in every church, generally in the north wall of the chancel. Great pomp and pageantry was used at the Sepulchre at Easter, on which day the crucifix and pix were taken out of this place, where they were in a solemn manner deposited on Good Friday.—Blomefield, Vol. IV., p. 41.

the Episcopal Monuments. Herbert, the founder, had his in the centre, below the steps of the high altar. It was so much injured at the Rebellion, that a new one was erected in 1682, which has now also been levelled and the slab placed in the floor. The Ordinal, to which I have before alluded, contains the services on the commemoration of Herbert, when his tomb was the centre of much ceremonial observance.\*

Of the several other early bishops buried here no monument remains, except of Goldwell and Wakering. The former, erected about 1499, is the most perfect and prominent. It is in the arch between the sixteenth and seventeenth pillars on the south side, and consists of an altar-tomb, on which is an effigy of the Bishop, in full pontificals, and a canopy covered with Perpendicular tracery cuts the height of the arch into two parts. The vaulting has an elegant tracery, resembling trellis-work. The altar-tomb is placed at the south-west corner of the space between the pillars, leaving thus a small space on the east side, where an altar was placed by the Bishop, prior to his death, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, St. James the Greater and the Less.

The effigy of the Bishop, which is of marble and has been painted and gilt, has been shockingly defaced, and the numerous initials cut with a knife upon all parts of it, show that the present century has contributed largely to the work of defacement.

Blomefield tells us, Bishop Wakering (1425) was buried on the south side of the founder's tomb, before the altar of St. George, "where the iron grates still (1743) stand in the arch,

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\* There would seem to have been much alteration in the steps leading up to the altar: now there are two at the eighteenth pillar and three at the nineteenth; in Blomefield's plan there are six at the eighteenth, and none in any other place. The Norwich Ordinal, in the Service for Benediction of the Holy Oil, directs the procession to go by the middle of the choir "till it comes to the steps at the head of Bishop Herbert."

next Bishop Goldwell's tomb" (east of it). He points to this spot, in his plan, as the site of Wakering's tomb, and gives a transcript of the "circumscription on the stone." I therefore conclude, that in his time the monument was in existence. The only portion of it now remaining is in the south aisle, where a series of panels, with plain shields, between the seventeenth and eighteenth pillars, formed part of the base of the south side of the monument: between the panels are small figures in niches, two and two, with the several instruments of the Passion. One bears a lanthorn and sword: the rope and pillar, a hammer and pail, the spear and crown of thorns, the sponge and scourge, are in the hands of others.

There were formerly steps into the choir on the east side of it, but these have been removed, and the panel-work, by modern restorers, carried up to the eighteenth pillar, and additional figures supplied, one with an open book, another with a crosier, and a third with a mitre. To show how carefully such restorations have been supervised, I need only mention that the "sponge" on the top of the staff has, in restoration, been converted into a death's head. Nothing is to be seen of the inscription. Of the mural monument to Bishop Overall, on the pillar adjoining, the less said the better: it is a vile specimen of a debased period of art.

Sir William Boleyn's tomb is a plain altar-tomb, between the eighteenth and nineteenth pillars: it was probably much damaged at the rebellion, and what we now see, the restoration of the succeeding period. The brass is gone from the slab, but the outline of its form would seem to indicate a memorial of a lady rather than of a man.

Of Chantrey's statue to Bishop Bathurst, which now occupies "Queen Elizabeth's seat," I can hardly be expected to say anything, except to regret that a fine work of art should not be placed in a more appropriate position. It might figure well in a college hall or a museum vestibule; but is not a fitting memorial for a church or chapel.

We look in vain for any memorial of Roger Bigod. That he was buried here, there can be no doubt; and the account of the mode in which Bishop Herbert possessed himself of the body to inter him in the Cathedral, has been narrated in the notice of Thetford Priory. Bishop Herbert evidently looked on him as one of the founders of the Cathedral, if not the founder, and buried him in some appropriate spot. Are those *his* bones which rest in the vault, the entrance to which is beneath the old Episcopal Throne, a view of which entrance is inserted in a previous page?

Jesus' Chapel has in its centre an altar-tomb (robbed of the brasses which were originally on the upper part of it), said to be of Sir Thomas Windham, and removed from the Lady Chapel on its destruction. The painted wooden reredos of the altar here has recently come to light, and was exhibited at the Meeting of the Institute in Norwich, and has been securely fixed in a dark corner of the vestry. It is of the fourteenth century, and is divided into five compartments: 1. The Scourging. 2. Bearing the Cross. 3. Crucifixion. 4. Resurrection. 5. Ascension. For many years, turned bottom upwards, it did duty as a table for sorting papers in the Treasury, on my only visit to which place I had the good fortune to espy it, and bring it to the notice of the authorities. The back grounds of the paintings "are gilded and enriched with impressed diapered patterns, and several of the ornaments are in slight relief." An engraving of it, from a drawing by Mr. Digby Wyatt, will be found in the Norwich volume of the Institute. That gentleman gave it as his opinion that these paintings were produced by some student of the Siennese masters of the latter part of the fourteenth century. Mr. Way, who was permitted to search the Sacrist Rolls for the purpose, looked in vain for any entry tending to throw light on the subject: his time, however, was small; and the jealousy with which these rolls are kept from the inspection of local an-

tiquaries, precludes any hope of obtaining further information from them.

Passing westward, under the stone gallery before mentioned, the next bay has an arch which formerly opened into a large chapel, all trace of which is now obliterated, except the line of its roof on the exterior of the north wall. Blomefield thinks this was the Chapel of St. Stephen, for he found the sacrist accounting for offerings "at the cross in the chapel at the altar of St. Stephen." Opposite to the arch into this chapel, and between the pillars opening into the choir, was the monument of Sir Thomas Erpingham, long ago destroyed; but in Blomefield's time the word "Bewar" remained on one corner of the stone. Sir Thomas Browne gives the following account of this monument:

"On the north side of the choir, between the two arches next to Queen Elizabeth's seat, were buried Sir Thomas Erpingham, and his wives the Lady Joan, &c., whose pictures were in the painted glass windows next to this place, with the arms of the Erpinghams. The insides of both the pillars were painted in red colors, with divers figures and inscriptions from the top almost to the bottom, which are now washed out by the late whiting of the pillars. . . . There was a long brass inscription about the tombstone, which was torn away in the late times, the name of Erpingham only remaining."

In the course of pulling down a part of the north wall to make a doorway, fragments of two figures, well carved in fine stone, were taken out. They are each about a foot in height: one a figure of a bishop, in chasuble, with the ends of the stole appearing beneath the tunic; the head is gone. The other figure has also lost its head: it is the figure of a female in full and flowing drapery, with the hair divided into long rolls tapering to a point, exactly like one of the female figures on the Erpingham Gate. The style of art is very much the same as in those figures, and may be assigned to the same time. Whether they formed part of the Erpingham monu-

ment or came from some other part of the Cathedral, it is impossible to decide.

To the west of this chapel there appears in Blomefield's plan the outline of another, which he conjectured to be the chapel of St. Osyth, which he notes to have been paved in 1398, and that the offerings at its altar were considerable. I can see no trace of it on the exterior wall of the aisle, and must think he is mistaken with respect to it. In the pavement of the aisle close by, is a remarkable Purbeck coped coffin lid, of large dimensions and late design, and presenting the very unusual addition of a bevelled edge, in which an inscribed brass was inserted entirely round it: the nails by which the brass was fixed remain, although every fragment of it is gone. Mr. Boutell says of this: "In the north aisle of the choir of Norwich Cathedral, in the pavement, lies another richly-molded Purbeck coffin lid, bearing a Latin cross within an engrailed border, the coping of which has four sloping surfaces;"\* but he has overlooked the fact of the brass round the edge. This may be the monument of Prior Nicholas de Brampton, removed from St. Luke's Chapel, who died in 1268; but if so it must be a very early example of the brass fillet.†

Passing through a modern screen, designed to accord with that in the same position in the south transept, and to make room for which a fine Early English doorway was destroyed (!) we find ourselves in the north transept, through the north door of which the Bishop used formerly to enter the Cathedral. This is now altered, and he finds his way

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\* *Christian Monuments*, p. 25.

† Mr. Woodward, in his Notes to Browne's *Repertorium*, says: "In removing the pavement of the north aisle to make a vault for the remains of Dr. Goodall in 1781, a tombstone, thought to be that of Sir Thomas Erpingham, was found with its face downward; it is of Purbeck marble, ridge formed, and having a Calvary Cross on the ridge; the rivets of a brass inscription on the edge of the stone are still visible: it remains near the place where it was found."



in modern times through what may be called a cellar door into the nave.

In a Norman niche above the north door, on the exterior, is a curious figure of a bishop, a specimen of the sculpture of Norman times. It is not in very high relief, and is usually thought to represent the founder, Herbert. Internally, the space above the door has a rude gigantic animal's head, protruding from triangular-headed arches formed of the billet moulding.

The arch into the apsidal chapel on the east side has been long walled-up, and for many years made use of as a sextry. This may be the St. Osyth's Chapel, which Blomefield places at a spot where no chapel can have been. It was called in P. Browne's time the "Storehouse," as materials were kept there for repairing the church; he states it was formerly used as a vestry. It is now in a very dilapidated and unsightly state.

The stone roof of the transept, the work of Bishop Nix, again exhibits those beautiful series of illustrative bosses at the intersections of the groining, so remarkably curious and beautiful in this Cathedral. These all relate to the Nativity and the events immediately succeeding it.

There is a door in the east wall leading into a staircase to the walks of the triforium and to the belfry above the choir.

The south transept has been very much altered in modern times. The "restorations" have been of the most extensive character. Across the south end of it was formerly a wall or screen, leaving a narrow passage between it and the main south wall. This passage communicated on the east side with the present vestry, and at the other with a passage and staircase to the rooms above the east walk of the cloister. On the top of this screen was an ancient clock: under it was a scroll with some Latin verses of no great merit. On the east side was "Nil boni hodie?" and on the west, "Ah! diem perdidit." Above were two small figures of soldiers, in the dress of James the First's time, who struck the quarters

with axes or hammers. These curious figures were exhibited at a meeting of our Archæological Society a few years ago, and were then in the possession of a citizen. This clock was probably the successor of that more elaborate piece of mechanism, the account of the construction of which Mr. Way had the good fortune to find in the Sacrist Rolls. "There were twenty-four small images, the work of Master Adam, the sculptor, probably personifying the hours of the day and night. There were also thirty images, doubtless representing the days of the month; painted and gilded plates pourtraying the sun and moon, &c. A painted *chorea monachorum*, or procession of monks, formed part of this curious mechanical pageantry. A large metal plate for the dial was procured from London, apparently with some difficulty, numerous messages having been dispatched thither regarding it by various *garçones*. This *lamen*, which weighed 87 lbs., was evidently a complicated and very elaborate work, engraved, possibly, with a multiplicity of lines, indicating the movements of the heavenly bodies. The construction was obviously attended with no ordinary difficulties: Master Robert de Turri failed in the attempt, and two artificers from London, who succeeded him, were equally unsuccessful. The works appear to have been in progress during three years [from 1322 to 1325]; and, besides iron-work, brass, copper, and 'latoun,' a considerable amount was expended in carpenter's work, decorations in colours, enriched with gold and silver foil, &c. Two hundred pieces of Caen stone, and ten of stone called 'Gobetz,' were employed; possibly in the construction of the base upon which the clock was fixed: (*fundum orologii*.)" —*Archæological Journal*, Vol. XII., p. 177.

I have added these curious accounts in Appendix C.

The apsidal chapel on the east side of this transept has been long destroyed, and the arch into it walled up. On its south side is a long, low, vaulted apartment at present in use as a vestry, and perhaps formerly pertaining to the office of sacrist.

This vestry is of the Decorated period, and had a chamber over it; but there is nothing known about what that chamber was. Blomefield, in his plan, designates the original chapter-house as the Prior's Chapel, or chapel of St. Edmund. In this he is undoubtedly wrong: there can be no doubt whatever on the evidence of position, appearance, and of records (Worcester's account of the building of the cloister, hereafter noticed, for instance,) that the building he alludes to was the chapter-house. I have further and new evidence on the subject. In the first three or four pages of the Norwich Ordinal in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, are various ordinances made in the time of Bishop Bateman; one of these, made in the year 1379, is to the following effect:

"The said prior shall find timber for repairing the Chapel of St. Edmund and for the privy adjoining to the same chamber, and the sacrist shall repair the lead roof and the windows of the same chapel."

So that the chapel of St. Edmund—the Prior's Chapel—was a chamber. May it not have been the chamber above the vestry or sacristy in the south transept? It is near the Prior's apartments, and the division of the cost of repairs may be accounted for if the sacristy was beneath it.

The roof of the south transept was the work of Bishop Nix; and the bosses illustrate the early history of Christ,—the presentation, the baptism, the disputation in the temple, and some of the early miracles.

Between the transepts and choir, immediately under the north and south arch of the steeple, stood some twenty years ago a cumbrous wooden structure of two stories, containing comfortable pews. These were swept away, and that on the south side was replaced by a stone gallery of poor design and considerable cost, the space beneath which began to be known as the Dungeon. This has also now been removed, and the transepts thrown open to the choir and benched for two-thirds of their length. I am, fortunately, not compelled to say any-

thing about the taste displayed in these benches or the screens at each end. There is certainly nothing of archæological or architectural interest about them.

The screen and doorway, filling the arch opening into the south aisle of the choir, is a Late Perpendicular production, of no great merit, but affording a picturesque variety.

In the outer wall of the south aisle of the choir there existed until recently a handsome door of the Perpendicular period. It is said the chapel into which it opened was used as the chapter-house after the destruction of that in the east walk of the cloister; this chapel has long been destroyed, the doorway had therefore been walled up. Here was this door, having the arms of the See and of Bishop Wakering (1425) in the spandrels, marking the position of this destroyed chapel, and itself a design of considerable merit, and in no one's way; but because the mania for "restoration" has seized the authorities, it must go. It was taken down and carried away, and the Norman arcade has been "restored:" and this at a time when architectural additions of all styles and of "no style" were being proceeded with right and left. I leave the perpetrators of such acts as these to the judgment of posterity.

Further east, and immediately opposite to the chapel in the north aisle called St. Stephen's, is a fine decorated arch opening into a noble chapel called Beauchamp's. Who William Beauchamp the founder was has not been ascertained. Kirkpatrick, who had access to the Cathedral records, maintained that the founder was one William Bauchun.\* There remains

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\* Sir Thomas Browne says of this chapel, "it has a noble gilded roof. . . . The inscription (which he gives) is in old letters on the outside of the wall at the south side of the chapel, and almost obliterated. He was buried under an arch in the wall, which was richly gilded, and some part of the gilding is yet to be perceived. . . . I have heard there is a vault below gilded like the roof of the chapel."

*Note by Editor.*—"Kirkpatrick, in his MS. notes to his copy of the Posthumous Works, (now in the possession of Dr. Sutton) says, that it was

on the east side a beautiful niche, with canopy of elaborate character, on the north side of the altar, and a ledge for images on the south side. The roof is groined, and has bosses illustrating the life, death, and assumption of the Virgin, to whom the chapel was dedicated. It has for many years been the Consistory Court, and has an entrance from Life's Green at the place in the east wall where the altar formerly stood.

St. Luke's, the circular chapel at the end of the south aisle, answering to that of Jesus on the north, has been so completely restored and benched and "beautified," as to leave little to interest the archæologist.

There is a fine font of the Walsingham type, with the seven Sacraments round the bowl, and some small trace of Prior Bozoun's monument in one of the arches between it and the choir. St. Luke's Chapel is the parish church of St. Mary-in-the-Marsh, the parish registers of which are kept in an oven or an iron box, very like one in the Holy Hole, which I have before described; opposite which, and at the extreme east end of the building, are the two arches which formerly opened into the Lady Chapel of Walter de Suffield. Acutely pointed, with bold mouldings and a fine example of the dog-tooth running round them, and resting on a lofty central shaft, with a quatrefoil opening in the space above, the effect must have been extremely fine when they opened into the noble chapel so disgracefully destroyed by Dean Gardiner.

This chapel, dedicated to our Lady, built by Walter de Suffield in 1265, is described to have been a very noble building, and its foundations can be distinctly traced.

About a twelvemonth since, in the course of some drainage

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certainly *William Bauchun*, who was the founder of this chapel, and gave lands to it in the latter end of King Edward the Second's time, as out of the records of the Church may be collected, the said William Bauchun being often mentioned therein, but Beauchamps, never. It also appears by his sketch of the inscription, that there was not space on the stone for more than 'Bauchun.'"—*Browne's Repertorium*: Works, Vol. IV., p. 23.

works then going on in the garden at the east end of the Cathedral, the foundations of the original Norman chapel, destroyed by Bishop Suffield, were uncovered; I was, fortunately, apprised of it, and have thus been enabled to put them accurately on the plan at the beginning of this paper, as well as those of Bishop Suffield's Chapel, which were carefully traced at the same time.

Having completed a survey of the Church, I will now turn to the Cloister.

*The Cloister.*—So much is there of interest in the Cathedral Cloister, that it might well demand a paper for itself. Its magnificent area, the beauty and variety of its architecture, the marvellous roof,—all arrest the attention and extort admiration, notwithstanding that the hands of the destroyer and restorer have been there. There is, moreover, although not a cotemporary account, yet an account of very early date, relating to the erection of it.

Whether the Norman cloister was of stone or wood, is now unknown. The present cloister is in no part earlier than the close of the thirteenth century. There is not a vestige of the Norman one remaining: one thing alone is certain,—it was nothing more than a covered walk round the enclosure, as the remains of a range of interlaced arches extending the whole west side, and the arcade on the north side of the refectory (noticed in page 255) and the remains of the Norman triforium on the south wall of the nave and on the west wall of the south transept, clearly show.

A hole in the west wall, near the south-west corner, is still existing, through which ran the water-pipes conveying the water from the roof of the original Strangers' Hall to the ground within the cloister.\*

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\* "Abbot Trumpington (1214 to 1235) of St. Alban's, constructed there several cloisters; namely, one between the chapter-house and chapel of St. Cuthbert, lest passers-by should be incommoded by the pouring down of the eaves-droppings; another, also of three sides, from the kitchen to

There seems to be some foundation for the opinion that our cloister was originally but an open yard; roofings were subsequently placed over first one portion and then another, "lest passers-by should be incommoded by the pouring down of the eaves-droppings," until a perfect range of roofing was made; and these wooden structures were speedily replaced by more substantial and elegant buildings of stone.

The fire of 1272 completely demolished the original cloister; and, as has been shown in a previous page, the dormitory, &c., shared the same fate. In after years arose the splendid cloister, which now engages the admiration of every lover of ancient art.

The four sides of the quadrangle are now occupied by a vaulted walk, having noble windows to the court, of beautiful tracery, the junction of the ribs of the vaulting being decorated with bosses of the most elaborate character, covered with multitudes of small figures,—a storehouse of scriptural and legendary illustration. Above this walk, three sides have an upper story lighted by small windows looking into the court; the fourth side, that on the north, has the wall alone, the upper story on that side never having been roofed in.

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the entrance of the regular cloister, which he assigned to the custody of the cook; that which also extends on the other side, from the aforesaid entrance of the monks' cloister to the door of the Strangers' Hall, which is latterly accustomed to be for the guests of the order, he assigned to the care of the Guestmaster, &c. &c. All these he firmly and soundly constructed of oak timber, with beams and rafters, and had covered with oak shingle. And he fenced in the cloister of three sides (which extends from the kitchen to the door against the Sartory) it being inclosed with a partition of screen-work, lest to the space contained in the middle (that is to say, the little shrubbery) free access should be open to all."—M. Paris quoted in Buckler's *St. Alban's*, p. 157. The Messrs. Buckler add—"We are not without examples of wooden cloisters of the age and character described, and may imagine that the last-named instance at St. Alban's, trellised so as to exclude passengers from intruding into the central inclosure, resembled the venerable little cloister, with uprights and arches of timber, the remains of which still appear on the north side of St. George's Chapel at Windsor."—p. 158.

William of Worcester's account of the building of these cloisters, from his Note-book in the library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has frequently been printed: the following is a translation of Nasmyth's version, that hitherto in common use.

"A. D. 1297. The work of the cloister of the church of Norwich is commenced before the chapter-house door, together with the same chapter-house, by the Lord Ralph Walpole, then Bishop of Norwich, as appears by an inscription on a stone placed in the west part of the cloister before the chapter-house door, which is in this wise: 'The Lord Ralph Walpole, Bishop of Norwich, placed me.' And also by Richard Uphall, founder of the aforesaid work, as appears by another inscribed stone, placed in the east part of the cloister, on the north side of the chapter-house door aforesaid, in these words: Richard Uppehalle, designer (inceptor) of this work, placed me;"\* and three arches were made by them, as well as the chapter-house.

The rest, namely, five towards the church, with the door of the same, and towards the door leading to the infirmary, and from that door to those arches *in which the marriages hung*, was made by the gifts of John Elys, Bishop of Norwich,† and of other friends, and by the office of Pittancer to this purpose specially assigned. Part of the north side next the wall of the church and the vaulting, was made by Master Henry de Well,‡ to wit, 210 marks; and also twenty pounds by Master John Hancock,|| to the same purpose assigned and given together with the Pittancer's office.

"*From the marriages, with the refectory door and lava-*

\* This stone is now to be seen under the north window of the chapter-house entrance.

† Bishop 1299 to 1312.

‡ Master Henry de Well was Dean of the College of St. Mary in the Fields, from 1401 to 1405, when he resigned on being appointed Archdeacon of Lincoln.

|| Master of Grammar School: resigned 1403.



tories, were done of the gift of Geoffrey Symonds, rector of the Marsh,\* to wit, a hundred pounds; and from the Strangers' Hall door to the entry into the church with the same door, and which is next the wall of the said hall; and the vaulting was made by the executors of the Lord John Wakering, some time Bishop of Norwich.† And so was completed the work of that most famous cloister, in the year 1430, in the time of William Alnewick, Bishop of Norwich, and William Worsted, Prior of the same church, in his third year. The time from the beginning of the work to the end, 133 years."

If this account, which was written about 1478, be correct, the east side of the cloister is the oldest, and the architectural features confirm it, they being chiefly Early Decorated.

The remarkable door into the church, figured by Carter in his *Sculpture and Painting*, and by Britton in his *History of the Cathedral*, with the singular ornamentation of the arch, on the side next the cloister, consisting of seven panels carried across the mouldings with crocketed canopies alternately ogee and acutely pointed, each having figures in high relief, is well known. The figure in the centre is the Saviour; on each side of this central one is a figure of an angel, censuring; the two succeeding figures are, on one side, a bishop with a model of a church in his hand, on the other, a king: next to the bishop is St. John the Baptist, and next to the king, Moses with the tables of the law. We constantly meet with the heads of a king and bishop on the drip mouldings of entrance-doors to churches; and it appears to me that these figures solve the problem of their constant presence in that position:—Moses and the king typify the Law; St. John and the bishop are heralds of the Gospel.‡

On the east wall adjoining this door were three lofty

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\* 1409

† Died Easter Monday, 1425.

‡ See Mr. D. Turner's Paper on some Paintings at York, of a similar kind, in the second volume of *Norfolk Archaeology*, p. 82.

niches, now walled up, with crocket canopies, supported on four heads, boldly sculptured, of a peasant, a bishop, a king, and a priest.

The purpose to which these niches were applied, I have not heard or seen explained. A recess in the same position at Wenlock, having three lofty arches towards the cloister, was pointed out, at the visit paid to that priory by the Institute in 1855, as a specimen of the *Trisantiæ* of Ducange. "All who remain for complines, supper being finished, going forth from the chapter-house to the left hand of the entrance, ought to remain in the *Trisantiæ* until all the convent are gone forth."—Bernard., *Cluniac Customs*, ch. 77. Whether these were sedilia appropriated to a similar purpose or not, I am unable to say; the subject may be considered hereafter.

In the sixth bay, on the east side, is the door into the passage, between the transept and chapter-house (called in some places, "the Slype,") destroyed on the so called "restoration" of the south transept, and this door was then walled up. The next three bays contain the door and windows of the vestibule to the chapter-house.

The chapter-house itself is entirely destroyed, and these beautiful arches have recently been filled with a light iron railing of appropriate pattern, and, seen from either side, are very beautiful. May they be long preserved!

The next bay has a walled-up door, the well-worn step of which seems to indicate the entrance to the staircase of the dormitory, small traces of the vaulting supporting which are yet visible on the wall of the Deanery opposite.

At the south end of the walk, and in the south wall, is a large door leading into a square, dark, vaulted cell. The vaulting is waggon-headed, ranging north and south. There is another door in this vault, on the east side, of the Early English period; but no other opening is to be seen. It is appropriately called the Dark Entry, and the door into the cloister is called in Worcester's above quoted description,

the Infirmary Door. I have referred to the building called the infirmary by Professor Willis, and discussed its claims to that designation in a previous page, where also will be found a view of it taken prior to its destruction in 1806. These infirmaries were usually built after the fashion of a church, the hall being at the west and a chapel at the east end. Now, if the building called the infirmary by Professor Willis was so used, instead of going strait through the "Dark Entry," it is surprising the passage should have turned to the left, making the way round to the western entrance still longer and more involved.\*

Returning to the east walk of the cloister, the windows are all of the Early Decorated style, and the vaulting richly adorned with bosses of the most elaborate character.

Philip Browne gives as the subjects of the east roof the legends of the four Evangelists, together with incidents of Gospel story. There are more knots of leaves and flowers among the subjects, than in any of the other three sides.

The south side, that said to be built by Bishop Salmon and his friends, has the windows of a more advanced character of Decorated style, and the roof is, according to Philip Browne, adorned with sculptures illustrative of the Revelation of St. John; and he enumerates—the seven golden candlesticks; the throne and the four beasts; the lamb; the sealed book; the opening of the seals and what thereupon followed; the four angels holding the winds; the angel ascending from the east; the great multitude standing before the throne; the seven angels with seven trumpets; the sounding of the trumpets and what followed, viz., hail and fire mingled with blood from heaven; a great burning mountain cast into the sea; a burning star falling from heaven; the sun and moon smitten;

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\* It is but just, however, that I should point out that the door on the east side of the dark entry is *Early English*, although the vault is Norman; and that the south wall has much brick built into it; but this may have been done in modern repairs, for the wall is of immense thickness.

the locusts coming upon the earth out of the bottomless pit; the four angels loosed; a mighty angel descending from heaven; the horses prepared to battle; the two witnesses; a woman clothed with the sun, having the moon under her feet, representing the church of Christ; a great red dragon; and the war in heaven.

This description is curious; but the difficulty of getting into a position near enough to the subjects to examine them has prevented my testing Browne's account very closely: it seems a very ingenious one, but some of the subjects he names would be rather difficult to identify. Numerous other subjects are mixed up with those enumerated, from sacred and legendary history.

Between the south wall and the west walk of the cloister some considerable difference of age exists, if Worcester's account be correct. In the version of it heretofore used it is stated, that, from the infirmary door to the arches where the marriages hung, (*in quibus maritagia dependent*) was built by Bishop Salmon, &c. (1312); and from the marriages, (*a maritagiis*) with the refectory door and lavatories, by Geoffrey Symonds, rector of St. Mary-in-the-Marsh (1409.)

Blomefield and those who have succeeded him have pointed out a boss over the refectory door, which occupies the last bay on the south side, as being carved with the figure of the Espousals, to which an anonymous writer, who has condensed Philip Browne's account into a twopenny guide to the church in recent times, adds, "a sacrament of marriage, *represented by our first parents*, the custom being formerly for the couple who were to be married to be placed at the church door, where the priest used to join their hands, and perform the greatest part of the matrimonial office." Blomefield has a long disquisition on the subject of marriages at the church door, lugging in the wife of Bath, who

" . . . . was a worthy woman all her live;  
Husbands at the church door had she five."

But during all these years it seems never to have occurred to these gentlemen that they were not at a church door at all! It was the refectory door of a convent. The absurdity of this having struck me some years ago, I went to look for Blomefield's boss. The boss represents, in the usual fashion, Adam and Eve on each side the tree, the serpent tempting. There was an end of the Espousals. But what could the phrase mean, "in quibus maritagia dependent?" It at last crossed my mind, knowing the cramped style of Worcester's writing, that the original transcriber might have mistaken one of the words, and that the word rendered *maritagia* might really be a contraction of *manutergia*: a single stroke of the pen would make it one or other. At my request the MS. was examined, and found to accord with my suggestion.

Bishop Salmon's work, therefore, ended at the arches east of the refectory door in *quibus manutergia dependent*, in which the towels hung; and Symonds's commenced a *manutergius*, from the towels.

How carefully ought our transcripts of original documents to be made! Here was an error—a mere stroke of the pen—which has led astray the Cathedral topographers, and puzzled the brains of antiquaries for nearly a century and a half!

The refectory door is very plain Perpendicular; and there must always have been a flight of steps leading up from it into the refectory. Only the north wall of the Norman refectory remains, apparently because it formed the wall of the south walk of the cloister. The whole of the windows in it must have been blocked up early in the fourteenth century. Whether a new refectory was then built, or the building called the infirmary was ever the refectory, must remain undecided:—perhaps Professor Willis may, before another fifty years are ended, settle the point for us. The beautiful character of the sculptured columns, and the painting and gilding with which they were adorned, seem hardly consistent with the appropriation of it as an infirmary, where all was usually

of a plain, substantial character. One would hardly look for painting and gilding in a hall for which the light was found by the hostler of the monastery, as it was here, according to Bishop Bateman's Injunctions in 1379.\*

The kitchen is gone, unless the circular recess to the south-west of the cloister be a part of it; but large portions of the cellarage and cellarer's lodging will be found in the range of buildings to the south-west, now Canon Archdall's and Dr. Buck's houses.

The first two bays of the west side of the cloister are occupied by the lavatories, which are so perfect that the water-pipe only wants to be repaired, and they would immediately be available for use.

The lavatories themselves seem to be much older than Symonds's time (1409) although the arches above and niches at the back of them are of that date. The windows on this west side are all of late Decorated character, fifty years earlier than the date assigned them by Worcester's account; and it is worthy of remark that the series of illustrations of the Revelations is continued in the bosses along the entire south and west sides, and are of the same style of design and execution throughout.

Philip Browne says of those on the west side, "amongst them are, the dragon casting a flood of water out of his mouth; the beast rising out of the sea; another beast rising out of the earth; his causing of the image of the beast to speak; the Lamb on mount Sion; the angel flying through the midst of heaven preaching the gospel; the angel denouncing the fall of Babylon; the Son of man sitting on a cloud, with a sickle in his hand; an angel coming out of the temple, who commands him to thrust in his sickle, and reap

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\* These Injunctions are written in the fly leaves of the Norwich Ordinal, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. I had extracted most of them for the purpose of including in the Appendix, but I have already far exceeded my limits, and I fear heavily taxed the patience of my readers.

the earth ; the earth reaped ; the wine press trodden ; the seven angels with seven vials ; the first vial poured upon the earth ; the second vial poured upon the sea ; the third vial poured upon the rivers and fountains of water ; the gathering in Armageddon ; the fourth vial poured upon the sun ; the fifth vial poured upon the seat of the beast ; the sixth vial poured upon Euphrates ; the seventh vial poured into the air ; the tempest, and falling of the city ; the great hail ; the whore of Babylon ; an angel coming down from heaven proclaiming the fall of Babylon ; the wailing of the sailors ; an angel casting a millstone into the sea ; the four and twenty elders worshipping God ; the marriage of the Lamb ; the King of kings and Lord of lords ; an angel standing in the sun ; the beast making war with the Lamb ; the dragon bound, and loosed ; compassing the beloved city ; fire coming down from heaven ; the devil cast into the lake of fire ; Christ sitting on a throne ; and the last judgment."

I recognised a number of these subjects ; but there is a large number of others—some plain, some obscure. I looked in vain for the satire said to be over the second lavatory,—the fox in a pulpit, in the habit of a secular priest, holding up a goose to his auditory. If it were actually so, I cannot myself see the point of the satire ; but the figure, which is far too big for a fox, is in a tower, with battlements at its top, on the right ; whilst a figure on the ground opposite is holding up something, which may be a goose, but it is far from distinct. It seems to be a ludicrous subject from the *Bestiaries*.

The door leading into the Strangers' Hall is in the next bay but one to the lavatories. The only portion of the west wall of which magnificent hall stands in the garden of Canon Wodehouse's residence, and consists of a fine Early English doorway, with a fragment of an Early English window north of it.

In the last bay of the cloister, next to the church, is a

modern door, which has replaced an ancient one. Permission being accorded to examine the inner side, we find ourselves in what is now the kitchen and larder of the Canon's house, anciently, as I have before stated, the great locutory and entrance into the monastery. Norman and Early English features are much intermixed: some noble Norman arches span part of the space, whilst the western portion has Early English vaulting, and the west window is a noble Early English one.

The north side of the cloister has eight windows of the Perpendicular period; one Early Decorated at the east end and the two westernmost Late Decorated. The vaulting retains the same character, and the bosses are very finely sculptured. Here Browne finds the legends of St. Christopher, St. Lawrence, St. Dominic, St. Pantaleon, St. Thomas of Villa Nova, St. John, St. Peter, and St. Paul. In the ninth arch he espies the Ascension; another of Christ and disciples at Emmaus, and several other figures relating to the Resurrection. In one of these bosses, Herodias's daughter *tumbles* before Herod, exactly in the same way as in a "Miserere," figured by Carter, from Ely Cathedral.\*

Such is this wonderful roof. I am surprised to find so confused a collection of subjects; but now, precluded from a more careful examination, I must adopt, in the main, the interpretation of Philip Browne.

The upper floor of the north walk was never completed. When Nix's chapel in the nave was constructed, two large five-light windows were made in the south wall of the church, the bases of which are nearly level with the vaulting of the walk.

Mention is made in most of the writers about the Cathedral, of a monument which formerly existed in the eleventh bay of the north side. It was a mural monument of a man kneeling in his armour on a cushion before an image of our

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\* Carter's *Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, Vol. II., p. 5, No. XII. The Ely stalls are there said to be the work of Alan de Walsingham, in 1328.



Saviour, and said to be the monument of Roger Bigot, sewer to King Henry the First.\* I mention it to express my disbelief of such a date being assigned to any monument of the kind described. There is a square panel, but the moulding is plain, and gives no indication of early date.

The upper portions or tracery of the windows were originally filled with stained glass. The lower part never had any, but may possibly have been fitted with shutters.

There is very great value in recorded History, but it always requires to be well sifted; and the account of Worcester, gathered, probably, on a visit to the monks, seems to require care in dealing with it. Who does he say built it? Let us range their names chronologically—

1297. Bishop Walpole.

1299 to 1312. Bishop Salmon and friends.

1403. John Hancock, Master of the Grammar School.

1405. Henry de Well, Dean of the Chapel in the Fields.

1409. Geoffrey Symonds, Rector of the Marsh.

1425. Bishop Wakering's Executors.

Here is a hiatus of nearly a century,—1312 to 1403.

All the piers, vaultings, and arches are, as Mr. J. A. Repton remarks in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* (Vol. III., p. 86,) of the style of Edward I. and II.; to these may be added a large majority of the windows. "It is only in the style of the windows that the *progress* of architecture can here be ascertained," Mr. Repton adds in endeavouring to follow Worcester's account.

The windows of the east walk are very Early Decorated and all alike. The south and west sides later Decorated, as

\* Sir Thomas Browne's account is, that here "was a handsome monument, pulled down in the late times; and a void space still remaineth. Upon this stone were the figures of *two persons in a praying posture on their knees*. I was told by Mr. Sandlin, that it was said to be the monument for one of the Bigots, who built or beautified that arch which leadeth into the church."—*Repertorium: Works*, Vol. IV., p. 11. It is hardly necessary to say that this description is of a monument of the sixteenth century, or later.

are the two first windows of the north side; then follow eight windows of Perpendicular, of fifty years later, set in Decorated arches; and then, strange to say, a solitary one of the same pattern as those on the east!

The costume and figures on the bosses, for the reasons I have given with reference to the subcellia, I do not place much reliance upon for arriving at the precise date. I see none, however, later than the middle of the fourteenth century on the south, east, and west sides; but it will be borne in mind, that those on the south and west have in the bosses a regular series, of which the design and execution are the same throughout.

How, then, it may be asked, do I account for Worcester's tale, with his citation of the names of Hancock and Well, Symonds and Bishop Wakering?

I answer, that the monks, like many folks now-a-days, ever remembered the last donors the best; and when Worcester visited them in 1478, these latter were freshest in their minds.

But how, I may ask in return, when such pains have been taken to preserve throughout one uniform style, that the architects of the Perpendicular period were constrained to continue the building in the old-fashioned architecture of the century before, should we be able to detect a progressive style in accordance, or fancied accordance, with Worcester's account?

The cloister was begun and completed in the Decorated period. The first design was a cloistered walk from the door into the church at the south-east corner to the infirmary door, *the entire east side*; the window of the same pattern in the north walk, filling up the bay next the church, thrown open when the other three sides were added later in the Decorated period was then placed in the first bay of the north side. In the Perpendicular period, old work was pulled down and replaced in the then fashionable style; and so it was

that Symonds was remembered, for he built the refectory door and the two arches over the lavatories (in the midst of Salmon's work and of the period immediately subsequent, say from 1310 to 1320) about the year 1409. Bishop Wakering's executors may claim the door of the Strangers' Hall and those at the north-west angle leading into the locutory and into the nave; and to Master Henry de Well and Master Hancock may be very fairly given the insertion of the eight new Perpendicular windows on the north side in *Decorated* arches. Some of the bosses, too, near them contain figures in armour of that date, although most of them are coeval with the bosses in the south and west walks.

So may we in a great measure reconcile Worcester's account with what we see, without adopting the very hazardous conclusion, that the builders of the mediæval period paid more attention to "uniformity of architecture" than to the developement of the style of their own period.

Returning to the square vault at the south-east corner of the cloister, the Early English door on its east side now gives access into the open space between the cloister and the Deanery. The south wall of the dormitory was within a foot or two of the north jamb of the door, and a vaulted passage may formerly have connected this door with the building now converted into the Deanery.

This is a large square pile which has received very numerous alterations in ancient and modern times. Within it, on the north side, is a large hall, part of it the kitchen of the Deanery, lighted by two fine two-light Early English windows, the heads of which are blocked up in consequence of the insertion of an upper floor. The south side of the hall has been cut off to form a narrow passage, in which, on the south side, is a handsome Late Perpendicular arch, opening to a stone staircase leading to the rooms above the ancient butteries and pantries. When this staircase was formed, some small Early English windows in the south wall of the build-

ing were blocked up, which had lighted a range of chambers. Part of a wall, with a Decorated arch, now forming the main entrance to the Deanery, has been built on at the south-east angle. This has the appearance of an entrance to a court on the south side of the building, in which are several traces of foundations, indicated on my plan.

At the north-west angle of the main building, traces of foundations extend a considerable distance north, where they join others ranging east and west. On those nearest the Deanery was a room destroyed within memory, and described as having had a fine ceiling, with pendants and tracery, wherein, tradition affirms, Cardinal Wolsey was lodged when he paid a short visit to Norwich.

The hall I have described may have been the Prior's hall, or the foundations to the north may have contained it, and this have been the infirmary. But large alterations were made at various periods, and what might have been appropriated to the Prior at one time, on the destruction of the infirmary by fire, may have been used for a time as the infirmary, and the Prior shifted more to the north. In the Canterbury plan the Prior's apartments closely adjoin the infirmary on its north side.

The head-piece to this paper is a view of the outer or Tombland side of St. Ethelbert's Gate, erected by the citizens after the disturbances of 1272, to replace the great gates then destroyed by them. It is needless to say that the upper part of it, with flint and stone intermixed, is a "restoration" made early in the present century. The front to the Close shows a window and some good flint panelling of the Decorated period.

It was my intention to have included the Bishop's Palace in my plan, but the state of health of the Bishop has precluded me from making any application to him for the necessary permission to survey and inspect the buildings.

## APPENDIX.

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### A.

A few extracts from the Epistles of Bishop Herbert will not be considered out of place. The first is—

*To Norman the Sacristan.\** [p. 1.] †

“By your diligence in writing, beloved brother Norman, you do your best to make amends for my negligence, owing to which I have neither kept copies of the letters I have composed for my friends, nor have I collected them in a register into one small compass. Your honest love on good grounds condemns my slothfulness with fearless reproaches, but harassed (as I have been) by vexations belonging to temporal affairs, up to this time I have had but little opportunity of showing, by correction, my regard for your censure; and often do I reflect in my own mind that I, who have wasted the vigor of my youth, ought not to submit in writing to those who come after me the follies of my later years, for all my writings up to this time have slipped from my hands, and I have buried them in enduring silence \* \* \* \*. The vigor of my youth is passed and gone, and a wearisome languor lays siege to my aged limbs; now, in my sixtieth year, I maintain that the chapters of my past life, darkened by many a stain

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\* Norman's Spital, on the other side the river, was commenced in Bishop Herbert's time, and the first master was "Norman," possibly the one to whom the above letter is addressed.

† *Epistole Herberti de Losinga.* Bruxelles, 1846.

of sin, ought not to be repeated in the ears of posterity, for foolish it is for a man, whom no series of past achievements renders illustrious, to desire to become conspicuous for mere words; ridiculous is that witticism of the Roman buffoon who, when he was asked what induced him to set the city on fire, replied, without hesitation, 'because I could not become conspicuous by my good deeds, I render myself notorious by bad ones.' This, my brother, is far from being in accordance with my sentiments, since I prefer privately to bewail the blackness of my sins rather than publicly to inveigh against them with high-flown declamation —."

EPISTLE V. *To Roger, Abbot of Fecamp.* [p. 6.]

"Sprung from the womb of the church of Fecamp, it is unnecessary for me to commend my obedience to you, since one of us is a father, the other a son, of the same church. One thing alone I beg that you love me as a father and instruct me as an abbot, for my desire is to love you as a son and obey you as a monk. Cause Suetonius, *of which I can find no copy in England*, to be transcribed, and send it to me by Dancard the Priest, or by any other person you please."

EPISTLE VIII. *To William the Monk.* [p. 13.]

"Concerning the bestowal of the Thorpe Wood on infirm men or any other, I neither have, nor do, nor will give you any instruction. I have appointed you the keeper, not the destroyer, of the wood. Pence, not wood, will I bestow upon the infirm when I come to Norwich, as I did last year. Give them this and no other answer. But do you guard the Wood of the Holy Trinity as you yourself desire to be guarded by the Holy Trinity and to retain my love."

EPISTLE XV. *To Ingulphus the Prior.* [p. 30.]

"I am going to Parliament with scarcely a horse and without any money, but God will be with me. I commend to you

the Norwich Church, and the work of the Church and mine, and I commend you to God. If you have lack of any thing, borrow it, and on my return I will make restitution of all to your creditors. Peace be with you, and all your brethren who in humility and truth maintain with you our holy rule in our house."

EPISTLE XIX. *To Rodbertus.* [p. 37.]

"His Guest and Clay Herbert, to his Host and Potter Rodbert.

"Receiving angels with hospitality and inviting them to his table, Abraham deservedly obtained the gift of fecundity for Sarah, who was barren; while his nephew Lot, by the exercise of a similar humanity, escaped the flames of Sodom. Two disciples journeying to Emmaus, constrained their Saviour to enter into their dwelling and set a table before him, and when they recognized him not by his interpretation of Scripture, they knew him by the breaking of bread. In like manner you also, most humane priest, have constrained me in my humility to enter into your house; you have rested me in your own chamber; you have sated me with your abundant delicacies, and in very truth I have found resuscitated in London *the Father I awhile ago buried at Winchester*. Your hospitable doors are fragrant with the sweet savour of love; your inmost apartments distill an overflowing sweetness. . . . You loaded my pack-saddles with such abundance of your delicious meats and drinks, as might have sufficed for me till my return home. Such are your acts of kindness conferred on me, not by reason of any merits on my part, but simply through your kind consideration for my need. As I cannot make you fitting return for such goodness, may our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ reward you duly, He who has clothed your heart with His own spirit, and hath consoled me in my destitution by your bounty. I have been considering what I should do with your palfrey; whether I should follow

the wish of your heart or the words of your mouth. For in your heart you wish me to keep the palfrey; in words, you request me to send it back. As I have discerned that the direction of your words was but a pretence, I have determined to obey the desire of your heart. I have kept your palfrey, and the most just Judge will render it to you in flourishing pastures at the last Jubilee, when restitution of their goods shall be made to all."

EPISTLE XXI. *To Roger the Bishop.* [p. 39.]

"To Bishop Roger, Herbert of Norwich, his Priest.

"Upon the receipt of your salutation by the hands of the Lord Ralph de Bellafago,† my soul was filled with as much gladness as if an angel from heaven had visited me. But when the same person, after his salutation, had added mention of calumny, my spirit was filled with horror and my mind was overwhelmed with grief, as my face became suffused with tears, and I was altogether at a loss what answer I was to return. I, however, minutely examined my thoughts, my desires, my language, to see if they had in any way transgressed; their answer was, that they had been guilty of no sin, that they could not possibly return bitter wormwood to that source from whence I had been supplied with honey and milk, counsel and aid, in all my necessities. I therefore declare, oh! man of God, that I have sinned against you by no thought of my mind or action of my body, on the testimony of truth and a pure conscience: on every occasion would I defend my singleness of heart. My ears alone do I not defend from hearing of certain matters worthy of reproof, if they be as report states. These, however, I have deferred, when time and opportunity occur, to be referred to yourself alone, and I have trusted no one with my secret.

"I beg you will send me back Walter my Archdeacon

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† This must have been a near relative of Herbert's predecessor.



with all possible celerity, because I want him very much in the synod I propose holding at \* as I cannot end the synod by any means without he be present.

“I am so much troubled with pains in the leg and thigh, that I can go nowhere, except I be carried by the hands of our brethren.”

EPISTLE XXVI. *To Roger of Salisbury.* [p. 50.]

“To Roger of Salisbury, his Pastor, Herbert at Norwich, a sheep of his flock, greeting.

“Although upon all occasions my infirmities stand in need of your anxious care, yet at this particular moment, as I am bound down by the bonds of sickness, and as adversity rages against me with peculiar vehemence, so do I the more earnestly entreat you, in your paternal care, not to disregard in his present prostration one whom you have up to this time enabled to stand, from any occupation elsewhere. I call on you as a father, as a pastor, and that too with the cries a wounded spirit is wont to utter. Let my anxious prayers, I beseech you, penetrate your fatherly and loving heart. My fold is broken down; I am exposed to the teeth of cruel beasts; and if your merciful protection aid me not, I shall be torn to pieces by enemies who are rushing in upon me. Your pity will discern what answer it ought to return to the sheep of your fold; I leave altogether in your hands the consideration of my anxious cares. On my lands fifty pounds are demanded *for pleas* (pro placitis), although my men who belong to these same lands have sinned neither in word nor deed. Sixty pounds also for soldiers, which I am compelled to furnish, though with the greatest difficulty, as in past years my substance has been very severely wasted. And, what is worst of all, my neighbours are doing my (their) best to impose dues on Thorpe, though our lord the King bestowed

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\* Name wanting in original.

it as free from all impost for the buildings of the church, as it was when in his own possession, and as are all his other manors, about which you have inspected the charter and briefs. Here I must stand and groan, and from my inmost heart I beg that you will not permit your church to be deprived of its immunities, since, up to this time, by royal favor and your good counsel, it has retained them: give instruction, I beseech you, that Thorpe may remain, as it has done, unmolested, or let them grant us truce till our lord the King arrives. If this may not be, grant a long term that I may send to the King and request his compassion.

"I have all confidence in our lady the Queen in granting and maintaining these things. By reason of her piety to the Lord you will in nowise find difficulty with her, who, both from her own merciful disposition, has been as a mother to myself, and who furthermore, on all occasions, has the benefit of your advice. I live, therefore, if you advise merciful councils. And by the ceaseless tears of Jesus our Saviour I implore you to do so.

"I beseech you, listen to the supplication of one of our brethren, who proposes to beseech your clemency in behalf of a brother imprisoned, with the same compassion as you desire your own prayers to be heard by God."

EPISTLE XXXIV. *To the Abbot of Fecamp.*

[p. 68.]

"Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, to R., Abbot of Fecamp, greeting.

"I desire to commend to your fatherly care brother Stanard, whom I am now sending to the King with an embassy from us, if in any case his circumstances require it; remembering our affectionate and ancient friendships, let him find us present in you, by your counsel and aid. I would have you know that the customs of the church at Fecamp are maintained by our brotherhood at Norwich, as far as we could

obtain them from Master Baldwin, or as far as I could myself remember them; but, as you in your experience are well aware, one's attention when distracted about temporal circumstances is not capable of retaining ecclesiastical customs of this description; in consequence of this, I have often purposed sending to Fecamp one or two brethren who might learn from the things themselves what they should select to bring back to our brotherhood. I considered, however, that this should only be done in your presence and by express permission; it remains, therefore, for your free judgment to determine what answer is to be returned to our application. I send you one servitor, that he may pass some time in your kitchen: keep him and direct him to be instructed in all the learning of that description. To conclude, be well assured that the profession which I made at the altar at Fecamp, and the benediction I there received, can by no lapse of time or increase of wealth be obliterated from my heart; but the more I advance in years, the more devoted and zealous am I in obeying your paternal commands."

EPISTLE XXXVI. *To the Brethren at Thetford.*

[p. 70.]

"Herbert, the Bishop, to the Sheriff R. and all the Parishioners of God and his own of Norfolk and Suffolk.

"If you are constrained by the teaching of truth, you ought to bear each others' burdens, and to grieve at mutual wrongs, and to look with especial horror on the insults heaped on your Head, and to alleviate his affliction with all your strength. Great are the bonds of charity which bind us together, and would that they were as useful as they assuredly are ordained by Divine dispensation! for that same law which God hath ordained between husband and wife in the flesh, Christ hath spiritually promulgated between a bishop and his flock; aye, and more binding is the latter, because the one is ordained concerning carnal marriage, the

other with regard to the spiritual. This then I submit to your intelligence, that you may truly weigh it, and also the labours of my office, in which I daily serve you, offering the sacrifices of the body and blood of Christ in your behalf; and also your own obedient love with which you should respond to my good offices. I have said these things, having to complain to you of certain malicious persons who during last week have broken into my park at Humersfield, and killed in the night the only deer which I had there, and, having cut off the head and thrown it away together with the feet and intestines, they carried it away, by a damnable theft. I therefore beseech my lord the Sheriff and all the faithful and Christian servants of God of these counties, to tell me if they be able to learn any thing, and in a laudable manner to disclose my unseen enemies. I in the mean time excommunicate those who broke into my park and killed my stag, with that anathema with which God in his anger smote the souls of the impious. I interdict them from entering into the church, and command their abstinence from the body and blood of Christ and from communion with all Christendom. May they be accursed and excommunicate, in houses, in streets, and in fields, in wood and in water, and in all places where they may be found. May the flesh of those who eat my stag's flesh rot away, as the flesh of Herod rotted, who shed innocent blood for Christ; with the traitor Judas, and Ananias and Sapphira, and Dathan and Abiram. Let them have the anathema maranatha, unless they quickly repent and give satisfaction. Fiat! Fiat! Fiat! This excommunication I ordain, my beloved brethren, not because I pay much regard to one stag, but because I would have them repent and confess and be corrected for such an offence. Those who know, or participate, or convey them away, shall be accursed with a like anathema. Nor may what we say be trifled with; for what we bind before God is bound, and what we unloose is in truth unloosed, according to the words to Peter the first

Bishop,—Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” \*

EPISTLE XXXV. *To Athselin the Priest.* [p. 72.]

“Herbert the Bishop to Athselin the Priest greeting.

“I could wish much to confer with you and correct your vehemence; for such cruel things are said of you as would disgrace any common layman. You are ashamed to wear a crown and to sing mass; but he who is ashamed of Christ and of his words, of him also will Christ be ashamed in the presence of his Father in heaven. Joseph and Daniel, the one in Egypt, the other in Babylon, administered state affairs, but neither of them lost true religion: do you also transact this world’s business in such a manner that the dignity of your priestly office be not put to shame. I, as a Bishop, command you, who are a priest, to permit God and our Church at Thedford to have the dues which, up to this time, during mine and my predecessors’ times, have been enjoyed, without let or trouble arising from secular pleas. Show all respect to Bund, my dean, and keep the peace with him, and disquiet him with no pleas, until I come to Thedford and hear your causes canonically, and confirm you in your friendship and love of peace. My son, if you hearken to me, you will so act as ruler at Thedford that you cease not to be a priest of God.”

EPISTLE XXXVII. *To the Brethren and his Sons at Thedford.* [p. 73.]

“Herbert the Bishop to his brethren and sons at Thedford greeting.

“Know that I have restored to Bundus, the Dean, his schools at Thedford, as he ever conducted them well and

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\* Matthew xvi. 19.

honestly ; and I enjoin that there be no other schools established there save his, or those which he has promised to establish."

EPISTLE XLI. *To William Turbus.* [p. 78.]

" Herbert to William Turbus.

" My joy in hearing of your penitence for your offences is in proportion to the poignancy of your sorrow ; for as he who despises small things will fall by little and little, so will he who abhors the least transgression by no means presume to ascend to greater sins. As then your penitence and confession demand, be thou absolved before the judgment-seat of Christ from all anathema, and from all your sins, by that power by which it was said to the chief of the Apostles, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

EPISTLE XLII. *To William Turbus.* [p. 80.]

" Herbert to William Turbus.

" I am angry with you on good grounds, and with a well-deserved wrath do I blame your insolence in that you thought fit to reveal the secret of your heart to my ears, not with your own but with another mouth. But your soul and mine were not knit together by such a bond of friendship. Write to me therefore with the ink of your heart and the pen of your tongue and hands whatsoever you desire, and the anxieties by which your mind is perplexed. To a physician, disease, and to a priest, conscience, is to be laid bare ; so from a physician, health, from a priest, counsel, is to be obtained."

EPISTLE L. *Herbert to Gislebert.* [p. 87.]

" The same heart and the same soul. You have sent me five pears and five Syrian figs: a great gift, had they but been

comprehended under some sacred number. But as you know the simple five signifies carnal things, the double of it, the law of the Jews, who were themselves in bondage under the elements of this world. From whence it follows, if you look closely into the matter, that you will find no perfection in your Quinariii: you ought, at all events, to have sent me thirteen on account of the Saviour and his Apostles, or twenty-four on account of the Apocalyptic senators, or an hundred and fifty-three on account of the draught of fish recorded in the Gospel, or, better still, one hundred and forty-three thousand on account of the infinity of martyrs. Then would this your great oblation shine forth, and the horn of him who sends you thanks would flourish abundantly. But your foreign gifts are esteemed by me, not with regard to the amount of the gift but to the disposition of the giver, who gave as much as he could get. For in the giving and receiving of gifts, it is not the abundance but the disposition of mind which is to be regarded. Go, therefore, and pass over the seas in safety, absolved by the authority of our office from all your sins of which you have made confession, and from which you desire to abstain hereafter. Remember us, and plead our cause with the King of England, and I will remember you and plead your cause with the King of Heaven, supplicating with daily holocausts that the all-powerful and merciful God may restore you in safety to your country and to our eyes; a youth more dear to me than all the pleasures of this world."

## EPISTLES LI. and LII., [pp. 89, 90.]

Are addressed to Ingulphus, the first Prior, who died 1121, and are principally exhortations to good rule. The latter is as follows—

"Herbert the Bishop to Ingulphus the Prior and other Procurators of the Church at Norwich greeting.

"In the same proportion as those things which are to your honour and advantage are dear to me, are those displeasing which tend to your injury or disgrace; nor does my mind remain at peace so long as any sinister opinion becomes attached to your religious garb. Behold, as I hear, nothing is safe in your house, but Holy Church is defiled by intestine robberies. You lose your books, your drinking vessels, your coverings, and every thing else, except those matters which are useless to the plunderers of your goods. I did not know that you had a Judas lurking among you; but as Judas from theft descended to betrayal, and after betrayal became a most execrable self-murderer, so in like manner that enemy of your goods within a few days' time, when the judgment of God is drawn forth, shall be condemned by a well-deserved anathema; for as putrefaction is in the body, and yet forms no portion of the body, so that thief is among you and not of you. But by your carelessness and slothfulness he is allowed to lurk among you: behold the colloquies of clerks, the intimacies of servants; look ye to the young children of the Lord our God, who indeed, within the church and without our church, go exposed to daily acts of rapine. In Heaven was a Satan; in Paradise, a serpent; in the ark, a Ham; among the apostles, a Judas; among the deacons, a Nicolaus; so among you indeed, not monks, but demoniacs, have effected an entrance, spies on your liberty and wasters and consumers of religion. O most negligent and lukewarm pastors! why have you opened the sheepfold of Christ to most destructive wolves? Assuredly Christ by his death redeemed his own sheep, which you have exposed to be torn to pieces by the teeth of wild beasts. God is not mocked as a man; you can bring no excuses before him, since to your negligence and carelessness he attributes whatsoever is done wickedly and contumeliously in your house. My eyes you may escape, but your inmost thoughts are revealed to God, the Judge of your consciences. More reproofs could I utter, but it is



sufficient for a mind willing to be corrected to know what has been neglected. Let this letter be publicly read and explained in the Chapter before all."

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## B.

## CATALOGUE OF THE MISERERES IN NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

*In the South Transept.*

✠ 1.\* (South side.) A wild hairy man, with a club in his hand, (a *Wodehouse*) standing on a lion. Supported by eagles.

◎ 2. (North side.) The half-length figure of a canon regular, issuing out of a shell. He wears a *mozzetta*, the cowl of which is drawn over his head, and, underneath, a *soutan* buttoned down the front. He holds a sword in his right hand, and a book in his left. Supported by dragons.

☞ *Quære*, does not this represent St. Dominic?

*In the Choir, commencing at the South-west.*

3. The Dean's stall has no Miserere.

✠ 4. A lion and a dragon biting each other; the grouping being extremely spirited. Supported by foliage.

✠ 5. A rose-tree, beautifully carved and under-cut; the branches being intertwined, but the flowers somewhat formal. Supported on each side by a large rose.

☞ On a shield at the corner are carved, MORLEY, a lion rampant, crowned.

✠ 6. Two human figures, male and female, in civil attire, the man holding a label, the lady an open book. A dog

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\* Engraved in *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. II., p. 246.

lying in front. Immediately at the back of the man's head is a letter W, crowned. Supported by shields; viz.,

*Dexter*: On a fess, three eagles displayed. CLERE.\*

*Sinister*: Erm. on a chief, three crosses patée.

WITCHINGHAM.

✠ 7. A griffin. Supported by lions' heads with their tongues out.

✠ 8. A man, with his hood drawn over his head, seated and reading a book held in his lap. Supported by,

*Dexter*: A shepherd with a pan at his feet, and one of his flock in his lap, the others in various attitudes about him. Two rams are butting each other; others are lying on the ground.

*Sinister*: A group of scholars. Two have books before them: two are fighting, and the master is taking a dish of cakes, or slices of bread, from a large open basket.

✠ 9. Two *Wodehouses*, armed with clubs. Supported by flat spreading leaves.

✠ 10. A man on horseback riding over a dragon. Dragon and horse are much smaller in proportion than the man. Supported by shields; viz.,

*Dexter*: Quarterly, with a label of two points in chief, impaling two lions passant. HOO and LE STRANGE.

*Sinister*: A fess between six cross-crosslets. ST. OMER.

☞ On the elbow between the stalls, a small plain shield within a bordure of martlets. ERPINGHAM.

✠ 11. A bear with a collar on his neck, fighting a lion (?) Supported by a dog on the left, a squirrel on the right.

☞ On a shield at the elbow, a saltire ingrailed. TIPTOTT.

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\* Sir William Clere married Dionysia, daughter of Sir William Witchingham, in 1351.

✠ 12.\* A man and woman, in civil costume (both now headless), the lady with a large rosary, the man having a long girdle, the end of which hangs down; his gloves and his dagger are also hanging from his girdle. Supported by shields; viz.,

*Dexter*: Erm. on a chief, three crosses patée. WITCHINGHAM.

*Sinister*: On a fess, three eagles displayed. CLERE.


 On a shield at the elbow, a cross ingrailed erm.

A crescent in the first quarter. BERNEY.


✠ 13. A man, armed with a club, holding a couple of lions chained together. Supported by,

*Dexter*: A man with a dog, his right leg bound up, his left bare.

*Sinister*: Two lambs (?)

 A shield at the elbow; viz., a chev. between three fleur de lys. HAVILLE.

✠ 14. A large crowned head, beautifully carved. Supported by foliage.

 On a shield at the elbow, a fess between three leopards' faces. DE LA POLE.

⊙ 15. An eagle, with a pigeon in his right claw, pecking a lamb. Supported on each side by a human head, wreathed.

⊙ 16. A wyvern. Supported by small wyverns.

⊙ 17. A king, seated on a throne without any back, with a scroll. Supported by crowned angels.

⊙ 18. Two male figures, holding each other by the collar and preparing to wrestle; the one on the left has his sleeves turned up to the elbow. Each is attended by a second; the one on the left has a high-crowned hat. It is extremely well executed. Supported,

*Dexter*: By a pig, with acorns in clusters.

*Sinister*: By a swan, crowned at the neck.

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\* Engraved at page 285.

⊙ 19. A lion attacking a young man, who defends himself with a long staff, on the right. On the left, a coarse-featured female attacks the lion with a club. Supported by wyverns.

20. } The Misereres belonging to these stalls have been  
21. } removed.

22. Thus described by Mr. Hart, is also now gone: A male figure, apparently an ecclesiastic, with a cowl, or a *biretum*, on his head, seated, and tearing asunder the hinder legs of a dog; other dogs being around him. Supported on each side by a chained monkey.

*In the Corporation Pew, South of the Choir, beginning  
at the West.*

⊙ 23. The emblem of St. Matthew the Evangelist; viz., an angel bearing a scroll. Supported by foliage.

⊙ 24. The head of a bishop in a low gemmed mitre, the cusps of which are to the right and left above the face. Supported by birds. [The so-called mitre seems to me a jewelled cap.—H. H.]

⊙ 25.\* A large human head, the hair and beard being curiously floriated at the ends. Supported by foliage.

⊙ 26. A large owl surrounded by a group of smaller birds: a similar subject to No. 51, and evidently from the illustrations of Calendars or Bestiaries. Supported on each side by two birds pecking each other.

⊙ 27. A knight, in a light tight-fitting tunic, fighting a dragon, which has a dead animal under it. Supported by lions' heads.

⊙ 28. The emblem of St. Mark the Evangelist; viz., a winged lion with a scroll. Supported by roses.

⊙ 29. The emblem of St. Luke the Evangelist; viz., a winged ox with a scroll. Supported by human heads.

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\* Engraved in *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. II., p. 249.

⊙ 30. A schoolmaster,—evidently an ecclesiastic, for he wears a callotte (or skull-cap), and also a mozzetta. He is in the act of scourging a child, and is surrounded by other children learning their lessons. Supported on each side by a child, seated, and having scrolls in their hands.

⊙ 31. An ox, boldly carved. Supported by foliage.

⊙ 32.\* A fox, running away with a goose, pursued by a woman with a distaff: a pig feeds from a pot; other pots and pans are being thrown about in the *mêlée*. Supported by flat spreading leaves.

⊙ 33. A man, armed with a club, leading a chained lion. Supported by small lions.

⊙ 34. A lion. Supported by flat spreading leaves.

*North side of the Choir, beginning at the West.*

35. } The Misereres belonging to the Prebendal stall, and  
36. } that immediately adjacent, have been removed.

✠ 37. The blessed Virgin and Child. An angel is holding a crown over her head. Supported by shields, viz.,

*Dexter*: A cross, ingrailed quarterly, with a bendlet *sinister*, carried through the second and third quarters.

*Sinister*: Semée of estoils, two lions passant.

☞ At the corner is a crowned male head, boldly carved.

✠ 38.† A knight, in armour, bearing a tilting shield of the fifteenth century, the top and bottom curving outwards, on which is incised, ermine, two chevronels; the helmet with its camail being suspended over his left shoulder. Supported by shields; viz.,

*Dexter*: Quarterly. Hoo, impaling two lions passant, LE STRANGE.

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\* Engraved at page 280.

† Engraved in *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. II., p. 249.

*Sinister*: A cross, ingrailed quarterly (as in number 37, but with the bendlet dexter-wise in first and fourth quarters). HEYDON, (?) impaling two lions passant, LE STRANGE.

N.B. Mr. Hart suggests that the shield last mentioned includes both those which support number 37; and, if so, these artists must have been very careless in their heraldry (omitting the estoils in one case, and in the other changing the bendlet from *sinister* to *dexter*): if not, the coincidence is very remarkable.

✚ 39.† A huntsman, sounding a bugle horn, with a stag on each side of him and with dogs at his feet. Supported on the left by one stag, on the right by two.

✚ 40. A man seized by a lion on the left arm: he stands on a dragon, who bites at his right leg. Supported by foliage.

✚ 41.\* A knight and a lady, each standing on a grotesque head. The knight is in armour, and grasps the lady's left hand with his right; his left hand is thrust into his belt. His armour is very like that of the Harling effigy in East Harling church, of about the middle of the fourteenth century. Supported by shields; viz.,

*Dexter*: On a bend, three pairs of wings conjoined.

WINGFIELD.

*Sinister*: Quarterly. BOVILLE.‡

✚ 42. An angel bearing a crown. Supported by angels.

✚ 43. A mermaid suckling a sea monster from her right breast. Supported on each side by a dolphin, having a small fish in his mouth, the tail of which protrudes.

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\* Engraved in *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. II., p. 250.

† Engraved at page 283.

‡ This must have been the contribution of Sir Thomas Wingfield, who married Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Sir William Boville, before 38 Edward III. He made his will in 1378, and was interred shortly after in the church of Letheringham, Suffolk.—See Burke's *History of Commoners*, Vol. II., p. 477.

✠ 44. An eagle. Supported by bearded male heads: the one to the right is crowned.

✠ 45. An archangel, armed with a sword and shield, trampling on the dragon. Supported by flat spreading leaves.

⊙ 46. A pelican vulning herself. Supported by small birds.

✠ 47. A man, in armour, sitting on a lion, tearing open its jaws: a composition of extraordinary vigour, from the muscular force with which he is wrenching open the lion's mouth. Supported *dexter* by a crane; *sinister* by an owl with a mouse in its beak.

⊙ 48. A monkey on the back of a large animal. Supported by small monkeys.

⊙ 49. A large ugly dog, with a collar round his neck, very badly executed. The supporters lost.

⊙ 50.\* A man riding on a boar; high-crowned bell-shaped hat, and pinking on his shoulders. Supported by flat spreading leaves.

51. A large owl, the centre of a number of smaller birds all flying towards it. Supported by two lapwings.

52. A man, drinking, upset by a boar. The boar rushes between the man's legs, who falls back, his cap flies off, the passage of the jug to his mouth is stayed, pots and pans fly about, and his face indicates great terror. Supported on each side by a mermaid, having a club in one hand, the other grasping her tail.

53. A wyvern. Supported by foliage.

*Corporation Pew on the North side of the Choir,  
beginning at the West.*

⊙ 54. A man, with a staff in his hand, beating bushes and trees, among which his dogs are scenting. Supported by spreading leaves.

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\* Figured at p. 251, *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. II.

- ⊙ 55. An antelope. Supported by spreading leaves.
  - ⊙ 56. A wyvern. Supported by grotesque human heads.
  - ⊙ 57.\* A man, in a high-crowned, broad-brimmed hat, turned up in front, and wearing a curiously *reticulated* coat. He is riding on a stag, and holds a horn in his right hand, and in his left a rabbit; dogs round him. Supported on each side by a man with a dagger.
  - ⊙ 58. A dog, with a collar, very badly carved. The supporters have been lost.
  - ⊙ 59. A lion. Supported by roses.
  - ⊙ 60. A large male head, with foliage instead of hair, but very inferior in point of execution to No. 25. Supported by flowers.
  - ⊙ 61. A wyvern. Supported by large spreading leaves.
  - ⊙ 62. A castle, with a central domed tower, embattled, and consisting of two stories, with a portcullis over the gateway, and trees on each side the tower within the castle wall (a fine piece of carving.) Supported by spreading leaves.
  - ⊙ 63. A monkey pushing another in a wheelbarrow, who has his right leg outside the barrow and brandishes a birch rod; the whole group being extremely curious. Supported by wyverns with human heads.
  - ⊙ 64. A head, with two faces under one cap: the left, a grave face; the other, yawning. Supported by two grotesque human heads.
  - ⊙ 65. Two wild animals, standing on their hind legs over and protecting their young from the dogs by whom they are surrounded. Supported by flowers.
- Mr. Hart notes the following, which is now removed.
66. A female head, crowned; the hair being arranged on each side of the face in a caul (to which I would direct the reader's attention as a valuable indication of the date at which

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\* Figured in *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. II., p. 251.



it was executed.) Supported by flowers. A remarkably fine specimen.

In its place is,

✚ 67. An angular corbel, terminating in a small female head. Supported by two leaves.

## C.

SACRIST ROLLS, NORWICH, 1322.—*Journal of the Archæological Institute*, Vol. XII. p. 175. (See p. 300.)

*Clock*.—For one plate of metal bought,  $4\frac{1}{2}^d$ . Sounds purchased, \*  $16^d$ .; for making five images,  $20^s$ . Item, boys (or assistants) making heads,  $3^s$ . In wages of Master Robert,  $30^s$ . Andrew and Roger, carpenters, are also mentioned as employed at this period. The total of the expenditure, between Michaelmas and Christmas, amounted to £4.  $19^s$ .  $8\frac{1}{2}^d$ .

In the Compotus for 1323, several entries occur under the head *Orologium*. Payments of wages to Andrew the carpenter, to Robert, to Roger de Stoke; with the following payment for the latter for carriage of his clothes and tools,  $8^s$ . For a hose of Latoun,  $4^s$ .  $7\frac{1}{2}^d$ . Also to Master Adam, the sculptor, for making twenty-four little images,  $11^s$ . Also for 200 Caen stones,  $22^s$ . Also to John, blacksmith, for iron-work for the clock,  $3^s$ .  $9^d$ . Also delivered to Robert of the

\* Doubtless the sounds, or swimming bladders of fish, used as size, either to temper colours or to form priming for the ground, &c. In the accounts relating to the painted chamber, frequent mention occurs of "cole" (Fr. *colle*, glue); as also in those concerning St. Stephen's Chapel, the *novum opus*, at Ely, in 1339, &c. In the Ely accounts, there is this item: "4 buss' de serowes pro cole faciend',  $18^d$ ." These were probably cuttings of parchment or skin.—*Archæol.*, Vol. IX., p. 153.

Tower, for making of the great dial, 10<sup>s</sup>.; and so much in danger of being lost, because from his poverty he was unable to perfect the work, nor was any thing to be obtained from him. Total, £6. 13<sup>s</sup>. 9½<sup>d</sup>.

The Roll of the following year is not to be found.

The Compotus of the year 1325, comprises the following entries:—

*Expenses of the Clock.*—Item, for 260 boards bought, 46<sup>s</sup>. Also in carriage of them, 16<sup>d</sup>. Also for ten stones, called "Gobetz,"\* with carriage, 7<sup>s</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. Also in wages of one mason about the foundation of the clock, 3<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>. Also for wood, *ad curbas*, 18<sup>d</sup>. Also for iron bought, 16<sup>s</sup>. 9½<sup>d</sup>. Also for iron work, 17<sup>s</sup>. 5<sup>d</sup>. Also for brass bought, 16<sup>s</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>. Also for one copper dial plate, 6<sup>d</sup>. Also for making the moon, with painting and gilding, 10<sup>s</sup>. Also for one copper plate, with gilding for the sun, 11<sup>d</sup>. Also for two thin plates of brass, 16<sup>d</sup>. Also in tools and mending of tools, 10<sup>d</sup>. Also in cords to the clock, 2<sup>s</sup>. 7½<sup>d</sup>. Also in making thirty images, 47<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. Also for wood for certain images, 2<sup>s</sup>. 1<sup>d</sup>. Also for painting a choir of monks, in all, 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. Also in white and red lead, leaves of silver, for oil † and colours to other images, 10<sup>s</sup>. 8½<sup>d</sup>. Also for painting the interior of the dial and the table under the exterior of the dial, 9<sup>d</sup>. Also 500 of gold, with carriage from London, 21<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. Also for twenty-five leaves of gold, 13<sup>s</sup>. Also in painting (barrels?) 16<sup>d</sup>. because twice done. Also in wages of painter and his assistant for fourteen weeks and two days, 8<sup>d</sup>. the head for the day, for the week, 9<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>.; and not more, because they staid at the table of our Lord. ‡ Also in a great lamen for the dial, £4. 7<sup>s</sup>.; videlt., eighty-

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\* The *Promptorium* gives "Gobet, lumpe, *frustum massa*. Gobet, of a thyng kutte, *scissura*. Gobet, of a brokyn thyng, *fragmen*."

† The express mention of oil for the preparation of pigments is not undeserving of notice.

‡ The painter and his assistant had their board at the table of the Lord Prior, and on that account a reduction was made in their wages.

seven pounds of metal, a shilling a pound. Also for carriage of the same lamen from London to Norwich, 7<sup>s</sup>. Also in expenses of divers messengers divers times, for the same lamen, 5<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>. Also for iron bought, 3<sup>s</sup>. Also given to a certain workman, named Robert de Turri, in part payment, for making the same lamen, 18<sup>s</sup>., in whose hands the whole work perished, and therefore he restored ten shillings; 8<sup>s</sup>. were lost because he had nothing in goods. Also sent to a certain workman in London, in part payment, for making aforesaid dial, 7<sup>s</sup>. Also to a certain other artificer under a similar contract, 5<sup>s</sup>., who both destroyed what had been before made, and nothing was able to be obtained from them in satisfaction. Also in expenses of Master Roger, a messenger, and his horse, sent to London about the aforesaid lamen, 3<sup>s</sup>. 1<sup>d</sup>. Also in carriage of things from London, 12<sup>d</sup>. Also for making bells, 16<sup>s</sup>. 9<sup>d</sup>. Also for eight little bells, bought from a certain man coming from Canterbury,\* 2<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>. For one stone about mending same bells, 6<sup>d</sup>. Also for baldricks (?) to the same, 7<sup>d</sup>. Iron and wood work, 20<sup>s</sup>. Nails, 2<sup>s</sup>. 5<sup>d</sup>. Iron work, 9<sup>s</sup>.

*Wages with Clothes.*—In wages of Robert, orologer, for four terms, 40<sup>s</sup>. For robes trimmed with fur, 16<sup>s</sup>. Garment given his son, 4<sup>s</sup>. Wages to Andrew, the carpenter, for twenty-four weeks, taking 7<sup>d</sup>. per week, 14<sup>s</sup>. Also his stipend for six weeks, according to same rate, 3<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. Wages to J. de Belawe, for twelve weeks, 8<sup>s</sup>., who charged 8<sup>d</sup>. a

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\* The pilgrims to the Shrine of St. Thomas appear to have furnished themselves with small bells, in the manufacture of which, probably, Canterbury had some celebrity. In the examination of William Thorpe, by Archbishop Arundel, in 1407, as related by himself, it is said that some pilgrims indulged in wanton songs, others would have bag pipes, "so that in everie towne that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the jangling of their Canterburie bells," more noise was made than if the king came that way. —Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, Vol. I., p. 168.

week. Also in wages of Master Roger, orologer, for two years and eleven weeks, £6., who charged 10<sup>d</sup>. a week. Wages of Lawrence, orologer, for two years, 69<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>., who took 8<sup>d</sup>. a week. Robes for Master Roger, for the first year, with fur, 19<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. Robes for Roger and Lawrence, for the second year, with fur, 34<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. Also for the third year, with fur, 33<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>. Also oblations for them for the whole time, 6<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. Total, £40. 16<sup>s</sup>. 0½<sup>d</sup>.

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